

**EMPOWERMENT BASED APPROACHES TO QUOTA
REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND**

Vimbai Mugadza

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Attestation of Authorship

I declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), or material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Name: Vimbai Mugadza

Signed:

Date: 16 January, 2012.

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Abstract

The study examines four key elements of empowerment; social, economic, political and cultural empowerment and how resettlement programmes in New Zealand can create an enabling environment for refugee empowerment to occur.

Power is dynamic and can be manifest in relationships in a range of ways between individuals, families, communities, nations and organizations. Those who hold power in relationships may have the privilege of coercing those without power to do the things that are outside their will for some kind of benefit.

This study examines refugee resettlement from an empowerment based perspective. It critically analyses refugee resettlement in New Zealand using the components of empowerment derived from theories of power by Emerson (1962) and Cartwright (1960), and Longwe's (1991) framework on empowerment. Refugee resettlement in New Zealand began in the 1940s in the wake of events during and after World War 2. A formal quota was established under the humanitarian programme in 1987 to bring an annual quota of 750 UNHCR mandated refugees for resettlement in New Zealand. This group forms the case study for this research.

Previous studies on refugee resettlement have pointed to the fact that after many years of resettlement in a third country, refugees still find themselves in situations where they depend on state welfare benefits (Higgins, 1999; Department of Labour, 2004; Joudi Kadri, 2009). They struggle to acquire the level of English language skills to enhance their integration into New Zealand society. Only about 25 percent gain full time employment after five years of living in the country [Department of Labour, 2004].

The study critically analyses the welfare system, refugees' socio/economic participation, settlement planning, English language support, employment support, community support, collaboration of support service agencies, and

how the provision of these services may be structured to create empowerment for refugees.

Chapter One

Background to the Study

On the 24th February 2011 Kafeba Mundeke, chair of New Zealand National Refugee Network (NZNRN) chairperson and Heather Hayden, Chief Executive of Refugees Services Aotearoa together with their deputies signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the two organisations undertaking to work together for successful resettlement of refugees in New Zealand. From the Chief Executive of Refugee Services Aotearoa's perspective, the goal of the MOU "is successful resettlement for all former refugees who arrive in this country," (Refugee Services signs MOU with NZNRN, para, 4) and the aspiration of the Chairperson of the NZNRN is "We know that if we add our voice to the great work that Refugee Services has done, then we will have effective resettlement in New Zealand" (para, 5). This development has been a positive outcome in facilitating dialogue between a service provider and the recipient of service to ensure that needs are identified and responded to for effective resettlement. This study explores what constitutes 'effective settlement', and what it means to refugees and to service providers by critically examining empowerment based approaches to resettlement.

Refugees who are resettled in a third country have been found to face many challenges ranging from unemployment, underemployment, discrimination, cultural shock, stereotyping, prejudice and they are generally viewed and presented by the media as people faced with many challenges, who are more beneficiaries of the social system than they are contributors to their new communities and country (Chile, 2002; Colic-Peisker and Tilbury, 2006; Department of Labour, 2004; Guerin and Guerin, 2009; & Psounos, 2007). One of the concluding summaries of a major study carried out in New Zealand, entitled 'Refugee Voices' states that, "some refugees may never get to the place where they can participate in this country's life to the same extent as other

residents” (Department of Labour, 2004, p.19). On the other hand, (Chile, 2007) points out that refugees who are survivors of trauma, torture and suffering often build a level of resilience that enables them to go through the process of resettlement, suggesting that refugees have the potential to gain more control of their lives and their communities when they are supported to build on this strength.

This study considered reports from previous research projects commissioned by the Department of Labour, the main government department responsible for the development and implementation of policies relating to quota refugees, through New Zealand Immigration Service. The Department of Labour is also responsible for purchasing settlement services from organisations such as Refugee Services Aotearoa New Zealand – the lead organisation responsible for refugee resettlement in New Zealand. The Refugee Voices report of 2004 gathered information on refugee experiences that could “be used to assess and improve refugee support systems and assist with the development of refugee resettlement policy” (Department of Labour, 2004, p. 17). More recently the Quota Refugees Ten Years On report, aimed “to build a platform of knowledge and understanding about integration, community, and identity for people who arrived in New Zealand 10 or more years ago” (Searle, Gruner and Duke, 2011). These two research projects examined the levels of refugees’ satisfaction with their settlement experience in New Zealand, the various components of settlement, the extent to which they felt settled and their satisfaction with the various services provided to support their settlement.

This study goes beyond assessing refugees’ satisfaction. It critically examines how the implementation of New Zealand’s refugee resettlement programme has empowered refugees, resulting in a much more integrated community of people from refugee backgrounds. Chile, Elliot, Liev and Tito (2007) talk of empowerment processes that are strengths based, focusing on the personal strength, resilience and survival skills that refugees would have attained during their life, educational and work experience and incorporate these when

developing and implementing support strategies that assist refugees to gain control over their lives and wellbeing.

The Government of New Zealand pays for the travel of refugees from the country of asylum and works in partnership with NGOs, where government funds the purchasing of services to achieve settlement outcomes for refugees. Government and NGOs work closely to provide settlement support to refugees. The main organisation working for refugee resettlement in New Zealand is Refugee Services Aotearoa who receive the refugees at Mangere Refugee Reception Centre and, working in collaboration with other organisations such as Auckland University of Technology, Refugees As Survivors, Immigration New Zealand, Ministry of Social Development and Ministry of Health, provide a variety of services and initial orientation to life in New Zealand for the first six weeks after arrival.

During this time refugees go through general health and mental health checks and treatment by a multidisciplinary team from Ministry of Health. Refugees as Survivors focuses on mental wellness checks and provides counselling and support where required. English Language assessment and training as well as orientation to life in New Zealand are provided by the Auckland University of Technology Centre for Refugee Education (AUT). The Ministry of Social Development provides the start-up grants and allowances including the establishment of bank accounts in preparation for life outside the reception centre. During this time of orientation to life in New Zealand, refugees are linked with other service providers with presentations from organisations such as Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB) – for free confidential information on a variety of topics relating to life in New Zealand, New Zealand Police – on maintenance of law and order, rights and responsibilities as a law abiding citizen, Work and Income – on accessing the benefit and other social services available and Housing New Zealand Corporation (HZNC) – on the process of being a tenant in a housing New Zealand house and their rights and responsibilities.

After the six week orientation at Mangere Refugee Reception Centre, refugees move into the community with the support of Refugee Services volunteers, social workers and cross cultural workers and this support continues for a full year (Searle, Gruner and Duke, 2011). Other organisations and initiatives such as Auckland Regional Migrant Services (ARMS), English Language Partners (ELP), Refugees as Survivors (RAS), Refugee Council, Refugee Coalition, Change Makers' Forum, Settling In and the Settlement Support Initiative work to provide support to refugees in the community. Programmes offered by these organisations vary from information on general living in New Zealand, orientation workshops on pertinent topics such as job search, interpretation services, community building, English Language, counseling, advocacy and social service support.

At the point when refugees move into the community, they obtain a resettlement grant from Work and Income and are allocated a house through the Housing New Zealand Corporation (HNZC). They are supported to open a bank account with support from volunteers. The initial English Language support is to help those refugees needing to learn or improve their English so that they can fit in the life and work situations post Mangere (Department of Labour, 2004). From the time that refugees arrive in New Zealand up to the time they leave Mangere Centre, they solely depend on the welfare system and the support they get from support agencies to get established in this country. While English Language support is free at the Mangere Refugee Reception Centre and complemented with child care, when refugees go into the community the challenge of finding a place to study English while taking care of family and child needs can be daunting for some refugee families (Department of Labour, 2004).

The resettlement system of New Zealand is presented as welfare based compared to that of the USA which is focused on finding employment immediately (Grogan, 2008). Though an entitlement and a necessity at the early stages of resettlement, literature points to the negative repercussions later in life when recipients of benefits fail to break the welfare chain and remain on the

benefit for life. Higgins (1999), in an article on citizenship, empowerment and participation, argues that long term dependency on the welfare system creates powerlessness and is due to a lack of opportunities for education, work and training, not to lack of initiative on the part of refugees. The challenges of the language barrier, looking and sounding different, cultural differences and the resettlement processes from the time refugees arrive at the centre to a time when they move into the community may lead to refugees learning helplessness (Wallerstein, 1993).

Refugees identify as a community and as such the study looked at empowerment from a community development perspective while connecting it to human rights. In advocating for community empowerment right from the start of the resettlement process, (Chile, 2007) argues that refugee community development programmes should be:

underpinned by community development principles that provide for the development of refugee and refugee communities to move beyond crisis relief onto rehabilitation and to transforming development. This requires a paradigm shift by governments, host communities and social service agencies working with refugees, so that their work is based on empowerment and longer – term development outcomes (p. 267).

It is against this background that this research was proposed to review current policies and to consider strategies that can be implemented to further build the capacity of refugees to take charge of their own lives as soon as they are resettled.

Justification for a Rights Based Approach

“The way we treat, and view, refugees is a test for our fidelity to the principles of universal human rights” (Rother, 2008, p. 4).

Many people become refugees because of human rights violation in their countries of origin. Therefore, as Chile argues, human rights should form one of the key principles that underpin refugee resettlement (Chile, 2008). Rother (2008) argues that New Zealand’s refugee resettlement programmes respond to the needs of refugees, with little mention of rights based approaches. Rights

based approaches focus on the concept of duty bearer and rights holder where service organisations as duty bearers have an obligation to provide support to refugees as rights holders. In this case refugees do not have to demand their rights but organisations plan their interventions from a rights based perspective. Meeting the rights of refugees therefore implies empowering them to be able to function as citizens of their new country, with skills and capabilities that enable them to find work and to participate in social and civic opportunities and also to claim their rights and entitlements (Piron and Watkins, 2004).

From an empowerment perspective, the table below highlights the differences between a rights based approach (empowering) and a needs based approach (welfare focused) to development.

Aim of the Research

This study critically reviewed the current refugee resettlement practices focusing on quota refugees who had been resettled in New Zealand for over 10 years. The aim was to find out to what extent these programmes were empowering and if not, to suggest how resettlement policies and plans could be developed in ways that make them more empowerment. In order to achieve this, refugee resettlement was considered from a rights based perspective to determine what constituted empowerment.

Table 1: - Tenets of rights based versus needs based approaches

Rights based approach	Needs based approach
Main emphasis is on the process and outcome.	Main emphasis is on input, output and outcome.
Focuses on accommodating to the rights of individuals.	Focuses on meeting needs.
Identify group and individual rights as legitimate claims to duty bearers.	Identify needs as valid claims.
Empowerment is the core to enable groups and individuals to claim their rights.	Needy groups and individuals are seen as objects of development intervention.
It is an entitlement for groups and individuals to receive assistance	Groups and individuals deserve assistance – may be perceived objects of pity.
Development programmes focus on structural causes and their manifestation. Goes deeper to reveal underlying causes of a depriving situation and challenges existing power relations.	Development programmes focus on the immediate causes of problems and deal with issues on the surface.

Adapted from: *A human rights based approach to refugee resettlement*. Rother, (2008, p. 13). <http://www.crf.org.nz/sites/crf.org.nz/files/Human%20Rights-Based%20Approach.pdf>.

Research Question

In order to help focus the study, the following research question was developed:

“To what extent does the resettlement of quota refugees in New Zealand empower refugees?”

New Zealand accepts refugees with high needs and from diverse ethnic backgrounds (UNHCR, 2002). These refugees come into the country with the aspiration of getting a job and becoming self-sufficient. Many of them come from developing countries where social welfare systems are not well developed and operational to provide social support to the unemployed (Tayob, 2006). Therefore their main goal would be to find work. The challenges they face in finding employment stem from a lack of English language proficiency, cultural differences, religious norms, looking and sounding different and lack of New Zealand work experience all hinder refugees’ ability to find work.

My work with Auckland Regional Migrant Services and the close interaction with the refugee community enabled me to observe some of these challenges that people from refugee backgrounds face on a daily basis. The disparity of New Zealand bringing in high needs refugees and meeting their needs through welfare support and the refugees’ desire to work and provide for their families and their own needs, prompted me to carry out this study to explore to what extent empowerment strategies can be incorporated into the resettlement process.

Why Focus on Empowerment

This study focused on empowerment to address the ‘why’ component in the way the resettlement process is carried out in New Zealand. The study aims to explore if people are not learning the English language for example, why is that so. If they are not getting employment, why is that so and how can programmes be tailored to address the ‘why’ component together with people

from the refugee community. One of the ways this can be done is through implementing empowerment based approaches which not only aim to give power to the powerless but give people the ability to make choices about issues concerning their own lives.

Empowerment is described both as a process and an outcome (Zimmerman, 1995). According to Zimmerman, processes of empowerment include activities, actions and structures that can be empowering and the outcomes of those activities induce a level of empowerment. Empowerment approaches are about identifying and acknowledging value in people who are identified as powerless, and coming up with strategies that build on what skills they have to bring them to a higher level of empowerment. As the level of empowerment increases, the strategies change as well to meet the needs of the community or individuals. Implementation of empowerment strategies could follow the process of planning, action and reflection to ensure that the programmes remain relevant to the needs of the target group (Selener, 1997).

For the purposes of this study, I adapted the definitions of empowerment from Adams (1996), Page and Czuba (1999) and (Speer and Hughey, 1995), resulting in my understanding of empowerment as a process of information provision to enable people who are in a vulnerable position to take charge of decisions that affect their lives and to be responsible for the outcomes of those decisions. It is a process of research/planning, action, and reflection that marks one's journey with milestones of achievement and learning that enhance future decision making.

Thesis Outline

The thesis contains eight chapters. Chapter one sets the scene for the study by giving a background to refugee resettlement in New Zealand, the current programmes and how much has been done to review the current programmes. After an analysis of what is currently happening, there is justification for the

study which focuses on empowerment based approaches to quota refugee resettlement.

Chapter Two discusses refugee resettlement in New Zealand in relation to the global situation of refugees. It gives definitions of refugees from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and South America's perspectives as they complement the articles of the UNHCR 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol. This chapter also looks at the history of refugee resettlement in New Zealand, the countries of origin of refugees and the different types of refugees coming into the country. The chapter concludes by looking at the role of the Immigration New Zealand (INZ), the main arm of government that is responsible for bringing quota refugees into the country and why the study is particularly focusing on empowerment of quota refugees.

To get to the core of the study, the Chapter Three introduces the concept and theory of power and empowerment and relates them to different contexts of working with marginalised or vulnerable groups. These are presented from a rights based perspective. The chapter critically examines the internal and external factors of empowerment, and how they relate to the four types of empowerment identified in the literature: economic, human and social, cultural, and political.

The methodology and methods of data collection used in this study are presented in Chapter Four. I attempt to clearly distinguish between methodology and methods of data collection and also to justify the choice of my preferred methodological approach for this study. The chapter also presents the research process, selecting research participants, details of methods of data collection and data analysis.

Chapter Five provides a brief synopsis of the refugee resettlement programmes that quota refugees go through from the time they arrive at Mangere Refugee Reception Centre and when they move into the community. The chapter includes a critical perspective on the various programmes and the organisations that provide these programmes. The discussion in this chapter presents a

connection between literature, what is currently happening in the resettlement programmes and what the participants in the study had to say about the programmes.

The key findings of the study are presented in Chapter Six. These are organised under the eight key themes that emerged from the analysis of data. The discussion highlights the gaps that participants identified in the programmes.

Chapter Seven presents the discussion on the extent to which New Zealand refugee resettlement programmes are empowering. The chapter links the findings in the study to theoretical frameworks of power and empowerment, previous research, and examples from other countries, with a view to answering the research question.

The final chapter Eight presents the conclusion and recommendations. It considers elements of empowerment and how these can be applied in the New Zealand context, so that refugee resettlement can go beyond the welfare approach to being one that enables former refugees to gain the capacity to take charge of their lives, not being dependent on the New Zealander state. It identifies areas for further research and how the research can be of benefit to the different sectors.

Chapter Two:

Context of Refugee Resettlement

Refugee Resettlement

This chapter starts by differentiating between the concepts of settlement and resettlement. It then critically positions refugees for the purposes of this study by first defining refugees while differentiating them from internally displaced people. It justifies the relationship between asylum countries, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and countries that receive refugees for resettlement. The chapter goes on to discuss the causes of refugee flows and the current global patterns of refugees; where they are coming from and where they are going. The chapter discusses the three durable solutions to the refugee situation and refugee resettlement in New Zealand. The chapter describes the role of the New Zealand Immigration Service and briefly touches on the support for refugees on arrival in New Zealand, and concludes with why this study focuses on quota refugees and empowerment.

Resettlement as defined by the UNHCR (2012) is a settlement solution to address the situation of refugees who are not able to be accommodated by the voluntary repatriation programme (back to their home country) or to be locally integrated in the country of first asylum. When refugees are resettled, they are moved to a new country through the collaboration of UNHCR and its member countries who accept quota refugees. The countries of resettlement commit to providing refugees the same legal rights and protection as their citizens. However, this process is not without its own challenges as it is expensive and refugees find themselves in challenging situations where the people, language and culture are new to them.

Settlement on the other hand describes the act of humans settling in a specific location and this can be temporary or permanent. With reference to English

settlers in New Zealand, their settlements were strategically located to facilitate sustenance of their livelihoods, landing of ships, business related ventures such as whaling, farming and timber cutting (Coutts, 1976). Other factors that also influence human settlement are access to resources and the topography allowing for future development of infrastructure. The notion of settlement can also be applicable to mass movement of refugees into neighbouring states or to another region as internally displaced people. These settlements are usually meant to be temporary while more durable solutions are found to ensure permanent stay. The use of the term 'settlement' in this thesis relates to process whereby refugees move to another location for temporary or permanent refuge from their areas of normal abode. This could be in the same country (internal displacement) or cross border in another country.

The process of refugee resettlement starts when refugees who are in a country of first asylum are identified and mandated by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as those deserving to be moved permanently to another country. This is for refugees who are not able to be voluntarily repatriated to their home country or to be integrated in the country of 1st asylum. UNHCR (2011) in the *Resettlement Handbook* define resettlement as a process that:

Involves the selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them – as refugees – with permanent residence status. The status provided ensures protection against refoulement and provides a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependants with access to rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. Resettlement also carries with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country. (p.3)

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Handbook provides information on who is a refugee and provides a guide for resettlement of UNHCR mandated refugees. International policies under the UNHCR provide for protection¹ for refugees as well as offering durable solutions² for

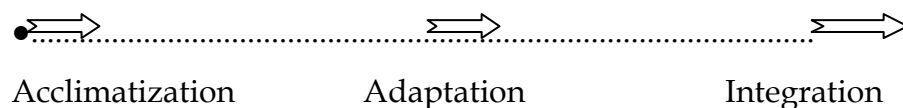
¹ Safeguarding one's human rights and physical security from injury or harm.

² UNHCR durable solutions describe long lasting settlement for refugees either through local integration in the country of first asylum, repatriation to their country of origin or resettlement in a third country.

individuals. While international humanitarian policies that address the causes of forced migration are considered in their broad context when dealing with refugee resettlement, member states have their own policies that govern refugee resettlement. The outcome is that depending on the refugee receiving country's resettlement policies, different concepts of resettlement processes are applied in the receiving countries and terms such as; acculturation³, biculturalism⁴, multiculturalism⁵, marginalisation⁶, assimilation⁷, integration⁸, segregation⁹ and settlement¹⁰ are commonly used (Gray and Elliott, 2001, p. 2). Depending on the approach that individual countries decide to adopt, the terms define processes and/or also provide for a measure of the resettlement outcomes. Resettlement may be perceived differently by policy makers, service providers and the refugees themselves.

However in stating the concepts of resettlement, Grey and Elliott (2001) argue that there is no agreed definition of what resettlement is or when it has occurred. The Canadian Council for Refugees, (1998) presents integration as the desired outcome of resettlement as depicted on a continuum:

Figure 1 - The resettlement/integration continuum:



Source: Canadian Council for Refugees: *Best settlement practises*, (1998, p. 4).

The idea of integration as an outcome is supported by Crisp (2004) who argues that resettlement consists of three main processes which aim to meet the legal needs of refugees;

³ assimilate to a different culture, typically the dominant one

⁴ Having or combining the cultural attitudes and customs of two nations, peoples, or ethnic groups.

⁵ Relating to or containing several cultural or ethnic groups within a society.

⁶ Treat (a person, group, or concept) as insignificant or peripheral.

⁷ Regard as similar; liken, where group melts into dominant society.

⁸ The intermixing of people who were previously segregated with each maintaining its own identity.

⁹ The action or state of setting someone or something apart from others.

¹⁰ The action of allowing or helping people to establish permanent homes.

- i) When refugees become recognised as citizens of the country of resettlement and participate in all the activities like other citizens;
- ii) When integration is an economic process where refugees have access to resources that enable them to participate in the labour market and are able to self-sustain, taking care of their own financial needs without depending too much on the humanitarian assistance and finally;
- iii) When it is a social process where refugees are able to socialise with the host community without discrimination of any sort (Crisp, 2004, p.1).

Crisp, (2004) goes on to suggest that integration is a process where “refugees maintain their own identity, yet become part of the host society to the extent that host population and refugees can live together in an acceptable way” (p.2).

Crisp argues that resettlement concerns issues of social justice and empowerment of the community with integration as an outcome of a well resettled community. The processes described by Crisp cover broad aspects of being a citizen and offers refugees and organisations working with refugees opportunities to design and implement support programmes that foster the empowerment of refugees which is the focus of this study.

Who/what is a Refugee?

The Oxford Press (2010) defines a refugee as “a person who has been forced to leave their country or home, because there is a war or for political, religious or social reasons” (<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/refugee>).

Various definitions of a refugee are provided to deal with situations of refugees in different parts of the world. This report considers three definitions of refugees as given by the United Nations General Assembly, the OAU and the Colloquium on the International Protection of Refugees in Central America, Mexico and Panama. Even though New Zealand uses the UNHCR definition of refugee, quota refugees coming into the country presently are also coming from regions where the other definitions apply.

Following the aftermath of World War II, the Constitution of the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) came up with a definition of a refugee which was adopted in 1951 by the United Nations General Assembly for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (Arboleda, 1991).

The UNHCR's definition of a refugee is a person who:

owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear is unwilling to return to it (UNHCR, 1951 Convention, p. 16).

This definition focused on refugees coming out of Europe during and after World War II and therefore was not adequate to deal with the situations of the 1970's and 1990's in Africa, South America and other parts of the world that produce refugees (Arboleda, 1991; and van Selm, 2005). In order to deal with the situation of refugees post World War II, the Protocol of 1967 gave wider scope to the Convention to deal with refugees mandated by UNHCR. The 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol continue to be the main international documents used to determine refugee status and are used by refugee receiving nations for the benefit of many who are fleeing persecution and conflict in their homelands. The UNHCR also supports Internally Displaced people (IDP) who, even though they are fleeing from the same causes as refugees, have not crossed their international borders and are still under the protection of their own governments even though the conflict they would be running away from may be caused by the same government. These people still have the benefits of citizens and are entitled to their rights and protection under international law.

The rise in the number of refugees in Africa as a result of wars of liberation from colonial masters called for further instruments to be put in place to deal with the situations of mass movements of people within their nations and across their borders (Arboleda, 1991). The 1969 Organisation of African Unity Convention Governing the Specific Needs of Refugee Problems in

Africa was instituted which acknowledged the 1951 Convention's definition of refugees and added:

the term refugee shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge on another place outside his country of origin or nationality (OAU Refugee Convention, Article 1, 1969).

At the regional level, this refugee definition by the OAU Convention dealt not only with humanitarian concerns but was pragmatic and allowed states to deal with mass movements of refugees into neighbouring states as it would be hard to make individual determinations of refugee status. The OAU Convention also included "freedom fighters" fighting white colonial rule who would not be considered under the 1951 Convention (Arboleda, 1991).

This definition was further broadened by the 1984 Cartagena Declaration on Refugees offering protection for mass inflows of refugees caused by military and political upheaval in Central America, Panama and Mexico, with the colloquium concluding that:

In addition to containing the elements of the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol, includes among refugees persons who have fled their country because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by general violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstance which have seriously disturbed public order (Americas-Miscellaneous, Cartagena Declaration on Refugees, 1984, p2).

While the Cartagena Declaration was not a treaty, its provisions are respected across Central America and have been incorporated in some national laws (UNHCR, 2001). Within the Latin American context, the Cartagena Declaration became the first document guiding states faced with mass inflows of refugees and it recognised that victims of internal conflicts, massive human rights violations and generalised violence deserved refugee status in order for states to be able to provide support for them. This was in response to a situation where the face of refugees changed from well-known high profile homogeneous individuals in the 1970's, to the diverse ethnic mix of villagers from the rural areas post the 1970s who were fleeing conflict into

neighbouring states (Arboleda, 1991). These two instruments, the OAU Convention and the Cartagena Declaration, broadened the refugee concept and enabled states in Latin America and Africa beyond the provisions of the UNHCR 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol to be able to deal with the refugee situations in these regions.

The global burden sharing responsibility that enable refugees to move across continents during the resettlement processes and the shift from high profile refugees to a mix of ethnic villagers calls for different kinds of support responses by receiving nations. This study therefore explores how empowerment strategies can be implemented to ensure that refugees are not only offered protection and security, but that they become genuine citizens, contributing in all spheres of their new country.

Causes of Refugees

The definitions of 'refugee' above imply dealing with people who are in a situation where they are seeking refuge away from their original country of dwelling. Being a refugee is about forced movement/migration and there are a variety of causes of such movement. Various authors have come up with reasons why people move from their countries of origin to become refugees in neighbouring states and present arguments to justify major and minor causes of refugee flows. Adruke (1993) argues that causes of refugees are mostly man-made from "policies and practices of oppressive and racist regimes, as well as aggression, colonialism, apartheid, alien domination, foreign intervention and occupation" (p. 21). Marfleet gives an example of continued refugee crises in countries like Zimbabwe, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Dafur and Somalia as being the "outcome of complex colonial legacies, global developments, external interventions, local tensions and conflicts" (p. 137).

While some authors concur that generalised violence and human rights abuses, ethnic and non-ethnic conflicts, inter-state and within states wars are the major causes of refugee flows (Arboleda, 1991; Burkhead, 1994; Gibney, 2010;

Neumayer, 2005; and UNHCR, 2009), some also believe that historical issues which are in many cases not considered in modern day deliberations on causes of refugee flight, contribute to the above mentioned crises (Marfleet, 2007; Zolberg, Suhrke, and Aguayo, 1996).

Though the numbers of conflicts have declined since the 1960s as time progressed, the number of refugees generated by each conflict has increased (Weiner, 1996). The internal conflicts in countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Colombia, Bhutan, Burma, Egypt, Sudan, Zimbabwe, external aggression and civil wars in countries such as Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Libya and Palestine, and protracted wars and famine in the Horn of Africa continue to generate refugees.

The UNHCR (2009), Global Trends report states that at the end of 2009, 43.3 million people worldwide were displaced forcibly due to persecution and conflict. Persecution and conflict due to religious differences occur in countries such as Sudan, Syria and Iraq; cultural conflicts in countries such as Ethiopia; ethnic differences in Bosnia, Yugoslavia and some parts of the Soviet Union (Burkhead, 1994 and Weiner, 1996); political differences as in Zimbabwe; and trade or business conflicts as reported in The Democratic Republic of Congo (UNHCR, 2009). Arboleda (1991) identifies the broad causes of refugees as being “internal turmoil, generalized civil strife, poverty and environmental disasters” (p. 187), while Gibney (2010) and Neumayer (2005) suggest that generalised political violence and gross human rights abuses are major sources of refugee flight in developing countries. Neumayer and Schmeidl (1997) affirm that genocides and civil wars particularly if coupled with external military intervention are major causes of large scale and prolonged population movements. In such situations where external forces are involved in civil wars, ethnic rebellion continues to force people to migrate even after external forces have moved out. In some countries the disturbances are such that governments are not in a position or are not willing to offer protection to their own people, and/or governments are fighting against their own people hence they flee to neighbouring states for protection (Weiner, 1996). In some regions such as the

Horn of Africa, the conflicts are compounded by poverty, periodic heavy flooding, severe drought conditions and food insecurity factors that further influence refugee movement for economic reasons (Neumayer, 2005). Burkehead (1994) adds “violence, environmental degradation, rogue regimes and anarchy” (p. 581) to the list of causes of refugee flows.

Arboleda (1991) reports the subversion against racist and oppressive regimes in Africa was a major cause of refugees as people fled the war zones and sought protection in neighboring states. The OAU Convention recognizes freedom fighters against repressive colonial regimes as legitimate refugees despite the limited definition under the UNHCR Convention (1951). Contemporary independent African states continue to produce refugees due to perpetuation of the colonial legacy where colonial powers had previously demarcated boundaries creating a mixture of tribes, clans and multi-ethnic states (Weiner, 1996). Hutus and Tutsis in Burundi are a typical example of this. Furthermore the collapse of empires in the communist world resulted in the formation of distinct countries where national leaders used violence to homogenize their subjects (Burkhead, 1994). Ethnic groups sought to gain ascendancy over other groups. Conflicts in Vietnam, Ethiopia, Iran, Afghanistan, Cuba and Nicaragua continue to produce large volumes of refugees who are recognized under the UNHCR Convention (Zolberg, Suhrke and Arguayo, 1986).

Burkhead (1994) further observed that the supply of arms to warring factions by external forces means that often even after the end of civil wars, the presence of arms continues to generate ethnic conflict and on-going political instability, as in the case of Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

By 1996, Weiner (1996) noted poor management of diversity by governments as one of the most destabilising factors in the world today, and identified ethnic conflict “as the single most important determinant of refugee movements” (p. 21). The causes of refugees tabled in this section have a correlation with the global pattern of refugees.

The Global Situation of Refugees

Having consideration for the state of refugees globally enables this research project to have a clear picture of where refugees are coming from. The culture, language and way of life of refugees have a bearing on how well the refugees will integrate in the country of asylum or in the country of resettlement. Issues of culture shock and language difficulties have been recorded as some of the challenges that refugees face during resettlement (Department of Labour, 2004).

The causes of movement of refugees from countries of origin to asylum countries, leading on to implementation of any one of the durable solutions which are, local integration, repatriation to their country of origin or resettlement in a third country enables one to anticipate the possible challenges that service providers and the refugees themselves may face. This section therefore presents a picture of the magnitude of the refugee problem and concludes by discussing the role that New Zealand plays in working with the international community to address this problem.

This section also discusses the proportion of refugees in relation to the world population, where they are settled, how they are settled and the impact the whole process may have on their lives as well as on the local communities into which they integrate. Therefore in addition to discussing the numbers of refugees and their geographic locations, the section will also deal with the human challenges surrounding refugee movements within their states and across their borders.

The Global Trends report by UNHCR (2010) provides the following information as a snapshot of the refugee situation by the end of 2010.

Table 2: Refugee Situation by end of 2010

Refugee situation	Description	Comment
Protected by UNHCR	25.2 million people	These include 10.55 million refugees and 14.7 million IDP
Stateless people	12 million	These were found in 65 countries.
In protracted situation	7.2 million	Found in 24 countries- the highest figure since 2001.
Women and girls	49% of people of concern to UNHCR.	Including refugees, asylum seekers and IDP.
Origin of refugees	Top two countries: Afghanistan and Iraq	The two countries accounted for over half of the world refugees under UNHCR's responsibility.
Where refugees go:		
Developing nations	4/5 of world refugees	Residing in 49 developing nations
In neighbouring countries	¾ of world refugees	Residing in countries neighbouring their countries of origin.
Top three host countries	Pakistan, Islamic Republic of Iran and Syrian Arab Republic	Hosting 1.9 million, 1.1 million and 1 million respectively.
Resettlement	98 000 refugees	Resettled in 22 countries
Hosts per GDP	Top three hosts: Pakistan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Kenya	745 refugees per US\$1 in Pakistan, 475 refugees per US\$1 in DRC and 247 refugees per US\$1 in Kenya.

Source: Compiled from *Global Trends report*, UNHCR (2010, p. 2)

The events during and after the World Wars created refugees first in Europe, and then in allied countries and the rest of the world. The preceding section on the causes of refugees, discussed the effects of wars and colonisation and how the prevalence of arms continues to perpetuate wars especially in regions of Africa, Asia and other developing nations, thereby shifting the pattern of refugees (Arboleda, 1991).

There has thus been a shift in the type of refugees from the ones emanating from Europe post World War I and II, to the contemporary refugees coming out of villages in the developing nations. The type of refugees has to some extent influenced their movement when seeking refuge. While refugees generated from the World Wars in Europe found themselves moving from communist to capitalist countries (Bessa, 2009), the politics emanating from or with the influence of industrialised states saw countries tightening controls on their borders to limit refugee movement across borders, resulting in Internally Displaced People¹¹ (IDP) (Zetter, 1991).

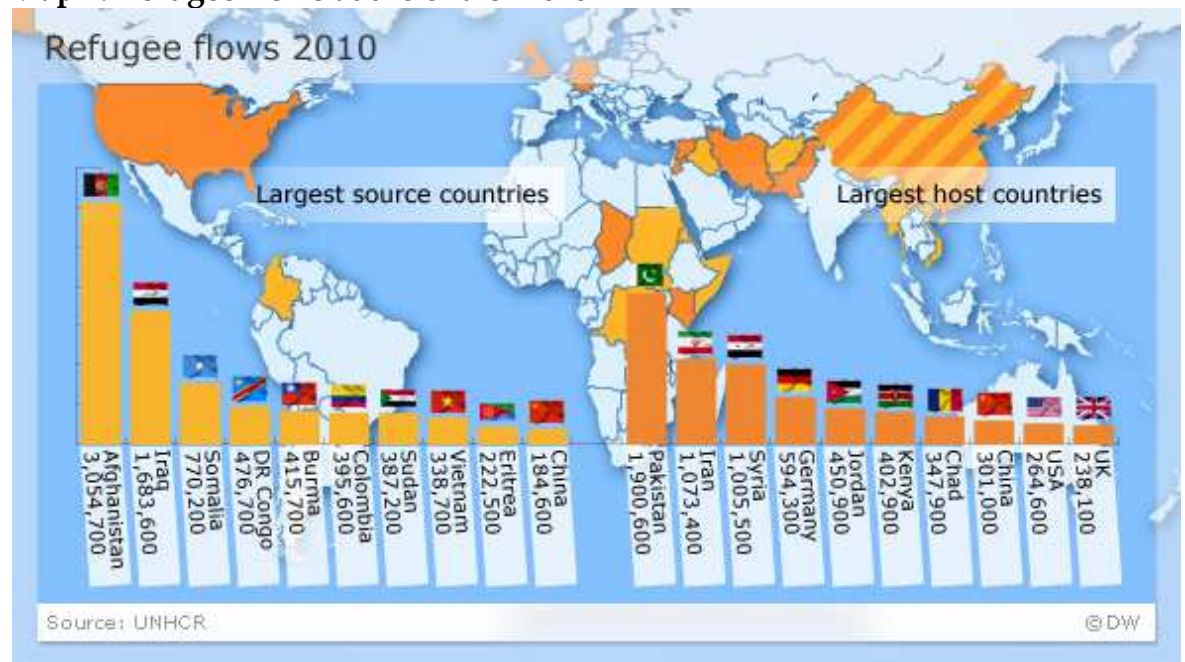
In this regard, industrialised states took the lead in taking away the right of asylum thereby weakening the principles of refugee protection. The UNHCR (2010) reports that from early 1980s, North America, the countries of Western Europe and Australasia have introduced a vast array of measures specifically designed to thwart or deter the arrival of asylum refugees. One of the measures as described by Kagan (2011) is the ability of UNHCR to provide support aid for refugees in their regions of origin, allowing “Northern donor states a channel by which to funnel monetary assistance while simultaneously helping host governments in the south to keep refugees from imposing a burden on their own societies” (p.3). The idea of burden sharing which UNHCR promotes globally through the implementation of the 1951 Convention and its Protocol becomes futile when refugees generated from developing countries end up in

¹¹ Internally displaced people are those who are forced to run away for the same causes as refugees but have not crossed international borders to seek refuge and protection but remain in a different location within their country of origin. Under international law, they are still obliged for protection of their own country.

the neighbouring developing country as depicted in table 2 above and map 2 below.

Developing nations which have a much bigger refugee problem and have poorer economies have also decided to follow suit, quoting the precedent already set by states in developed nations. However developing nations which generate a proportion of refugees are also receiving nations for refugees from neighbouring countries as shown in the map below.

Map 1: Refugee flows at the end of 2010



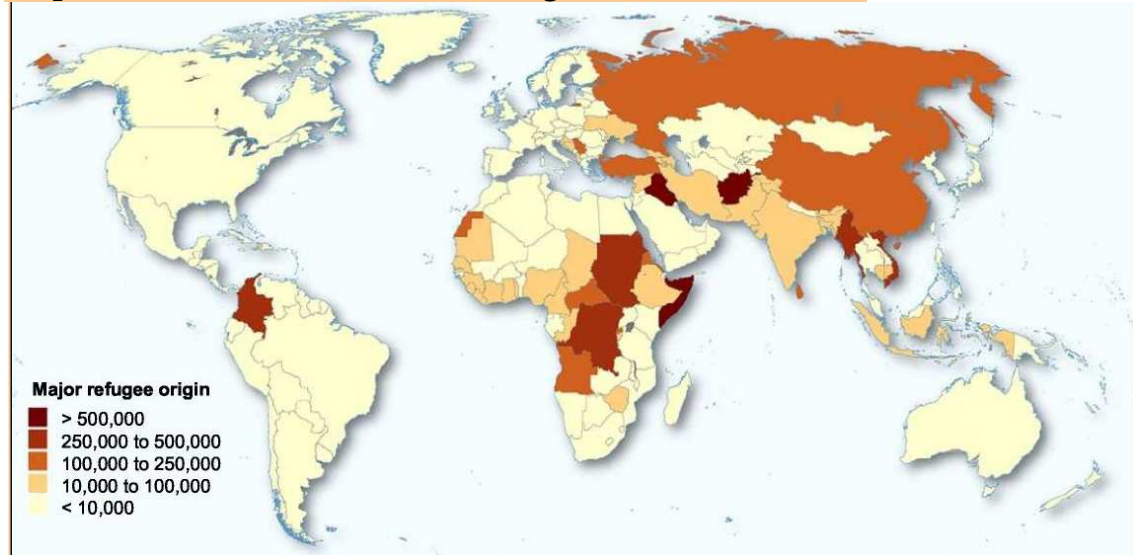
Source: UNHCR (2011), Retrieved from: <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,15267789,00.html>

There has been a significant shift in source countries for refugees between 2009 and 2010. While 2009 had Russia as a main refugee producing country, 2010 had China as both a major source of refugees and a host country. Compared to 2009, the number of countries producing refugees reduced in 2010.

Refugees may find themselves in protracted situations in countries of asylum, where they have no hope of ever moving to a permanent resettlement. By 2001 4.5 million Afghans were forcibly removed to Iran and Pakistan and they had been living there for over two decades (Frelick, 2007). Another situation presented by Frelick is that of hundreds of Sudanese, Angolans, Vietnamese,

Western Saharans, Angolans, Eritreans, Iraqis, Ethiopians, Burmese, Somalis, Liberians, Rwandese, Tibetans and Nepalese warehoused for protracted periods in unhealthy and overcrowded conditions in refugee camps.

Map 2: Main source countries of refugees at the end of 2009



Source: UNHCR (2010) Main source countries of refugees: <http://reliefweb.int/node/1679>.

People who have lived in a camp for many years with the responsibility for their wellbeing relegated to the UNHCR by host governments, when the families and children born in camps finally get an opportunity for resettlement, they are faced with the challenges of identity, culture shock and a huge struggle to cope with the new life.

While the number of world refugees was at its lowest at the end of 2005 (21 million), at the end of 2010 the number of people forcibly removed from their countries reached its highest since the 1990s. The figure stood at 43.3 million worldwide.

The following table presents the state of refugee figures from 2005 to 2010.

Table 3: State of world refugees: 2005 - 2010

Year	Total number of refugees (millions)	Refugees under ¹² UNRWA (millions)	Internally displaced people (millions)	Asylum seekers (millions)	Voluntary repatriation
2005	20.8	4.3	6.6	.66	1.1 million
2006	32.9	4.3	12.8	.60	734 000
2007	31.7	4.6	13.7	.65	731 000
2008	42.0	4.7	26.0	0.8	640 000
2009	43.3	4.8	27.1	1.0	251 500 thousand refugees and 2.2 million IDP
2010	43.7	4.82	27.5	.84	197 600 refugees and 2.9 million IDP

Source: UNHCR Global Trends reports (2005 – 2010), <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c4b8.html>

The state of refugees before they move to a country of resettlement has a bearing on how the refugees will cope with life in a different environment. For the purposes of this study, a further analysis of refugee figures will be done for 2009 and 2010. During 2009 and 2010, 21 different countries hosted 5.5 million refugees who were living in a protracted situation, and developing countries hosted four fifths of the world's population of refugees. This presents challenges in terms of resource scarcity which may lead to conflict. Pakistan hosted the largest number of refugees worldwide (1.7 million), followed by the Islamic Republic of Iran (1.1million) and the Syrian Arab Republic (1.05 million; Government estimate). Pakistan also hosted the largest number of refugees in relation to its economic capacity with 745 refugees per 1 USD GDP (PPP) per capita, followed by the Democratic Republic of the Congo (592) and Zimbabwe (245), (UNHCR, 2010). The countries mentioned above played an important role in hosting refugees but they are source countries for refugees themselves.

¹² UNRWA stands for United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

The next section discusses the situation of refugees in the Middle East, Africa and Asia because of the high number of refugees generated from these regions as well as the complex nature of the response mechanisms faced by receiving nations due to language, religion and cultural differences.

Refugee Situation in the Middle East

The situation of refugees in the Middle East presents an unstable situation with contemporary Middle East being identified by academics and the humanitarian society as a refugee generation and hosting community (Zaiotti, 2006). Like refugee producing nations of Africa, the Middle East also generates numbers of refugees as much as they host refugees. The UNHCR (2010) reports that, Afghanistan and Iraq produced the highest number of refugees globally by the end of 2010. Compared to sub-Saharan Africa, refugee policies are much less developed in the Middle East, with only three countries, Egypt, Yemen and Israel being signatories to the 1951 Convention. This means that international refugee protection laws do not apply in this region with religion playing a major role in receiving and hosting refugees (Zaiotti, 2006). The care of refugees formally is therefore relegated to the UNHCR.

The general conflict in the Middle East caused Afghanistan and Iraq to generate almost half of all refugees under UNHCR's responsibility worldwide. Out of every four refugees in the world, one was from Afghanistan, accounting for a figure of 2.9 million. Refugees from Afghanistan were located in 71 different asylum countries. The second largest refugee group was generated by Iraq accounting for 1.8 million people and these sought refuge primarily in neighbouring countries.

The years 2009 and 2010 had a reduction in the number of voluntarily repatriated refugees and a steady increase of refugees due to the continued conflict in the Middle East and Asia. The UNHCR (2008) affirm that 83 – 90 percent of refugees remain in their region of origin as internally displaced people or in neighbouring countries. The table below shows the figures of refugees from and into the stated countries.

Table 4:
Statistical Snapshot of refugee situation in the Middle East - As at January 2011.

Countries (of asylum or residence)	Refugees from	Refugees in	IDPs
Bahrain	87	165	0
Egypt	6,913	95,056	0
Iraq	¹³ 1,683,579	34,655	1,343,568
Israel	1,301	25,471	0
Jordan	2,254	¹⁴ 450,915	0
Kuwait	988	184	0
Lebanon	15,869	8,063	0
Occupied Palestinian Territory	¹⁵ 93,323	0	0
Oman	63	78	0
Qatar	112	51	0
Saudi Arabia	667	582	0
Syrian Arab Republic	18,452	¹⁶ 1,005,472	0
United Arab Emirates	424	538	0
Yemen	2,076	190,092	220,994

Source: Retrieved from UNHCR website:

<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e45ade6.html#>

The next section discusses the refugee situation in Africa from where the third highest number of refugees came from by the end of 2010.

¹³ Refugee figures for Iraqis in Jordan and the Syrian Arab Republic are Government estimates.

¹⁴ Refugee figure for Iraqis in Jordan is a Government estimate.

¹⁵ Refers to Palestinian refugees under the UNHCR mandate only.

¹⁶ Refugee figure for Iraqis in the Syrian Arab Republic is a Government estimate.

Refugee Situation in the African Continent

The continent of Africa presents a complex and delicate scenario when it comes to refugees and displaced persons because of its history of colonisation, with all the countries being colonised except two (Liberia and Ethiopia). The legacy of colonial rulers left Africa with divisions that contribute to causes of poverty, power struggles and civil wars (Huillery, 2006). The scenario described below is an analysis of refugees and displaced people's situation in Africa.

In proportion to its population, Africa produces a high number of refugees and displaced persons. By the end of 2008 Africa contained only 12 per cent of the global population, but out of the world's 20 million internally displaced persons (IDP), just under 50 per cent were in Africa as well as more than a quarter of the world's 11.5 million refugees. Globally, nine out of the 20 top 'refugee-producing' countries were found in Africa. Twenty-five African nations had in excess of 10, 000 refugee populations, while 11 of those countries were hosting refugee populations of 100, 000 or more and yet the GDP per capita for refugee generating and hosting countries such as Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Burundi was less than US\$200. According to the United States Committee for Refugees (USCR), 10 member states of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) are among the 24 countries that had the highest ratio of refugees to local people. The figures are equally striking in terms of IDPs. Africa provided 10 of the 20 countries with the largest IDP populations at the end of 1998 (Crisp, 2000). The movement of refugees to neighbouring states and regions presents challenges of competition for resources which in many cases would not be adequate to meet the needs of the locals, thereby creating tensions between the refugees and the locals. Where mass movements of refugees occur, there are problems with environmental degradation with refugee hosting nations having to manage rehabilitation of their landscapes without much support from the international community (Crisp, 2000).

Similar to the situation in the Middle East, the figures for Africa suggest that the movement of refugees is also a two-way process where refugee generating

nations also play a significant role in hosting refugees from neighbouring African states.

The change in refugee policies by northern states resulted in Sub Saharan Africa recording a significant decline in numbers of refugees and displaced people from 3.4million in 2000 to 2 million at the start of 2010. This was due to efforts towards large scale repatriation and local integration to contain people within their regions, against the onset of current new waves of humanitarian crises, persecution, and violence, causing new refugee movements in the region. The extent to which the moves benefit refugees is questionable as Frelick (2007) presents examples of forced repatriation following the terror attacks of September 11, 2001 on the USA.

Refugee Situation in Asia

The region of Asia encompasses Central Asia, East Asia, South Asia, South-East Asia and South-West Asia. According to the UNHCR (2012) the Asia Pacific region hosted about 30 percent of the global refugee population in 2011. Some of the contributing factors to refugee generation in Asia are the historical factors of colonisation, religious and tribal conflicts in countries such as Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistani and Iran (Khan, 2001). Khan also observes that other threats aggravating refugee generation are terror campaigns, production of drugs, the threat of nuclear proliferation and foreign intervention. Several Asian countries experience ongoing conflicts or tension, coupled with generally weak civil societies. These contribute to human rights abuses and vulnerability of citizens (European Commission, 2007).

In addition to the political and economic instability in these nations, Asia is also ravaged by natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes and tsunamis. These environmental factors exacerbate the plight of refugees in the region. In 2011, the countries of South West Asia housed the largest and most protracted refugee situation globally (UNHCR, 2012). The European Commission report states that in 2007, Asia was home to a third of the world's poorest population (European Commission, 2007). During 2011, Asia recorded high refugee

activity, with the highest numbers of voluntary repatriations as well as the highest number of people leaving the region for resettlement in other countries.

The table below presents the situation of refugees and internally displaced people in all the countries of Asia.

Table 5: Statistical Snapshot of the Refugee Situation in Asia as at January 2011.

Countries	Refugees from	Refugees in	IDPs
Kazakhstan	3 632	4 406	0
Kyrgyzstan	2 744	2 458	20 000
Tajikistan	577	3 131	0
Turkmenistan	738	62	0
Uzbekistan	8 840	311	0
China	184 602	300 986	0
Hong Kong	17	154	0
Japan	152	2 586	0
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	917	-	0
Republic of Korea	585	358	0
Macau	10	0	0
Bhutan	75 070	-	0
India	17 769	184 821	0
Maldives	19	-	0
Nepal	5 889	89 808	0
Sri Lanka	141 074	223	273 772
Bangladesh	10 049	229 253	0
Brunei Darussalam	1	0	0
Cambodia	16 314	129	0
Indonesia	16 892	811	0
Lao People's Democratic Republic	8 414	0	0
Malaysia	552	81 516	0
Myanmar	415 670	0	62 015
Philippines	970	243	139 509
Singapore	76	7	0
Thailand	356	96 675	0
Vietnam	300 000	1 928	0
Afghanistan	3 054 709	6 434	351 907
Islamic Republic of Iran	68 791	1 073 366	0
Pakistan	39 982	1 900 621	952 035

Source: Retrieved from UNHCR website:

<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4a02d8ec6.html>

Background to the Three Durable Solutions

The celebration of World Refugee Day 2010 had as its theme “Home” in recognition of over 40 million displaced people all over the world. This was followed by the 2011 World Refugee Day theme focusing on “real people, real needs” and a global theme which stated “one refugee without hope is too many” (UNHCR, 2001-2011, <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4bf4f2616.html>).

Part of the mandate of UNHCR is to find durable solutions for refugees (under its mandate) and according them the security of a new home where they can make plans for their lives based on the fact that they are no longer in transition. The idea of finding durable solutions for refugees is to take them out of a state of uncertainty and statelessness. Durable solutions are implemented with careful consideration of the situation of refugees, their country of origin and the country of asylum, to find out what option would be the best for refugees. Durable solutions encompass (i) local integration in the country of first asylum, (ii) voluntary return/repatriation to their homeland/country of origin or (iii) resettlement in a third country (UNHCR, 2010). In implementing the three durable solutions, care needs to be taken to consider refugees as being a human rights concern not as a global burden phenomenon that countries need to share and lighten for one another (Frelick, 1990).

According to Bessa, (2009), the history of durable solutions is one without a legal definition, leaving refugee receiving states to conceptualise and apply policies that address durable solutions for refugees. In some cases refugee receiving states may not have the humanitarian concern for refugee protection and welfare and their interests may centre more on their country’s economic, political and ideological interests. Bessa (2009) states that during the Cold War, resettlement was considered the most viable solution and the most preferred method compared to repatriation and local integration. Resettlement was used to some extent as a political and migration instrument to transfer refugees from the communist states into countries like America and Europe, thereby: (i) achieving stability and recovery of Europe, (ii) making the best of the migrant

work force, and (iii) supporting defection from communism. Academics note the interest of United States of America in monitoring resettlement of refugees from communist countries which they did through two agencies which they fully funded, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration of 1951 and the United States Escapee programme of 1952.

The USA continues to be much involved in the affairs of UNHCR (the agency responsible for refugees globally), and have become their largest sponsor contributing 37% of UNHCR's total annual budget in 2009 (UNHCR, 2009). To some extent this gives America the right to have an input into the management of refugee situations globally. The same privilege is enjoyed by European states that make up the top ten donors to the UNHCR as well as Japan which makes the second largest contribution.

At the end of the Cold War around the 1980s and 1990s there was an increase in forced displacements in the global South, resulting in an increase in the number of refugees requiring attention as well as a change in the 'face' of refugees. Countries of the North which were interested in accepting refugees began to lose interest, and there were attempts to depoliticise and redefine durable solutions with a more increased focus on containment strategies in countries of origin or around the countries that generated refugees (Bessa, 2009). Bessa goes on to mention that after the cold war there was a shift from resettlement as the most preferred method of a durable solution to voluntary repatriation. There was an effort to move resettlement from politics and migration concerns, to being a durable solution focusing more on protection and international cooperation. However the generation of refugees in the South had some influence from the Cold War where strategic and political interests continued to fuel conflict generation.

Frelick (2007) identifies a paradigm shift to refugee responses as time progressed from the time of the cold war, to events post September 11, 2001 up to the present day responses. Frelick argues that during the Cold War, refugees had no hope of returning to their home countries because they were

perceived as defecting from communist dominated countries. Resettlement was therefore considered the most viable durable solution for refugees from communist countries such as Cambodia and Vietnam in the USA and Europe. USA and Europe lost interest in resettling refugees from the South, preferring to intervene to change the situation in refugee generating countries with the aim of containing refugees in their source countries or having them return to their home country. However this situation did not deter many refugees from seeking asylum especially in aligned developed nations. The post Cold War era saw the number of asylum seekers reaching its peak and only starting to decline when developed nations started to implement strict border controls and restrictions on travel following the September 11, 2001 attacks on the USA. Frelick states that while the refugees of the Cold War were seen as peace lovers, refugees of the 90's, post September 11, were treated with suspicion and were seen as either terrorists or "the sea in which the terrorist fish would swim" (Frelick, 2007, p. 34).

The following sections discuss three durable solutions to the global refugee situation.

Local Integration

Local integration is the working out of mechanisms for settlement of refugees in the host community where they would have sought asylum, allowing them to live in peace and dignity. At a time when the International Refugee Organisation was being dissolved and the UNHCR was being established, the United Nations Secretary General described local integration as a situation where:

Refugees will lead an independent life in countries which have given them shelter. With the exception of hard core cases, the refugees will no longer be maintained by an international organisation as they are at present. They will be integrated in the economic system of the countries of asylum and will themselves provide for their own needs and those of their families. This will be a phase of settlement and assimilation of refugees (Crisp, 2004, p. 3).

Local integration is described by Crisp (2004, p. 1) as an economic process, a legal process and a social process. An economic process is whereby refugees make use of their potential to enable them to sustain themselves and progressively be less dependent on welfare support. This process enables refugees to obtain equal status with citizens of their country of asylum. The legal process is a situation where refugees are granted rights and entitlements enabling them to access services, freedom of movement and of trade, access to employment and business and the right to become residents and citizens of their country of asylum. As a social process, refugees can stay alongside citizens of the country of asylum without discrimination, exploitation or intimidation and without having to assimilate into the local culture but maintaining their identity.

Local integration however is not without its challenges. Where there is a mass exodus of refugees into neighbouring states and in poor countries, there may be a competition for scarce resources such as land, social services and jobs, with the citizens feeling the pressure from the sudden influx of people from another country. Another challenge can be environmental degradation as trees are cut down to make way for new settlements and for firewood. Ethnic rivalry may occur leading to further conflicts, and hosting countries may fear

the threat to local and national security as genuine refugees may be mixed with rebels (Crisp, 2004).

Voluntary Repatriation

This is enabling refugees to voluntarily return to their countries of origin, restoring them to their land, their communities and their livelihoods. Frelick (1990) considers voluntary repatriation as “the most effective and direct durable solution to the refugee condition” (p. 442). Frelick argues that forced removal from one’s homeland is the taking away of a fundamental human right, and is a “human rights violation” (p. 443). Enabling people to go back should be seen not only in the light of being a durable solution but a restoration of lost rights. While people have a right to leave and escape in times of persecution, they also have a right to return when the situation allows it.

Frelick gives an example of Cambodians resettled in the comforts of USA whose hearts will always be in their homeland because of the spiritual and religious connection they have with their ancestors, where bones of ancestors are treated “with highest reverence and kept in special family shrines” (p. 444). For the Cambodians, Frelick argues that to be uprooted from this spiritual connection, from generations of ancestry creates a pain that continually stays. In the hearts of these Cambodian/American citizens, they will always be refugees. This argument justifies the right of return with economic re-integration and rehabilitation to countries of origin; compelling those nations who have the means and power to address situations that cause conflict and mass exodus of citizens to act.

Voluntary repatriation is the most significant of the three durable solutions with about 12 refugees repatriated for each refugee resettled. The UNHCR(2009) statistics showed that in 1998, the three largest unaided refugee mass movements back to the home country were all in Africa; from Sierra Leone (280 000), Sudan (37, 000) and Angola (33, 000) while Liberia and Sierra Leone had

the two largest aided repatriation movements of 236,000 and 195,000 respectively.

Bessa (2009) argues that the push for increased voluntary repatriation may be the influence of major powers to keep refugees in their countries of origin to support their own political agendas. This move is questionable as some countries do not keep records of asylum seekers, not wanting to be responsible for them, and in other situations of continued conflict, refugees are forced to return by opposition military groups vying for power. Frelick (1990) gives an example of Cambodian refugees who after abuse and manipulation, are then forced to return to their country so they can provide support for military leaders. An example given by Frelick is a Cambodian refugee, who wrote:

it is possible that the forcing repatriation may happen to us, because each faction seems to want to have power, they have to have people with them, and in order to have people with them, they may force the people to go with them to Cambodia so that they can use them for their own purposes (p.445).

While it is almost impossible to compile accurate statistics relating to such forced movements, information collected by the USCR proposes that at least 12 major repatriation movements were undertaken under duress during 1998, involving seven different countries of asylum which were; Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Angola, Guinea, Zaire/Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, and Uganda (Crisp, 2000).

Various authors like Ambroso (2011), Castles (2004; 2005), and Frelick (2004; 2007) present voluntary repatriation as the most preferred durable solution. The UNHCR report (2009) states that only 251, 500 refugees opted for voluntary repatriation by the end of 2009. This figure is the lowest since 1990 with the general trend showing a gradual decline from the 1990s up to the end of 2009. On the other hand, more than 2.2 million internally displaced persons were able to return to their original homes, the highest in at least a decade.

Resettlement in a Third Country

Other countries which have made a commitment to accept an annual quota of refugees for resettlement are Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United States of America, Belgium, France, Germany and United Kingdom.

Resettlement in a third country is for those refugees who are not able to be repatriated to their country of origin or to be locally integrated in the country of asylum. Resettlement is an expression of participating countries' concrete commitment to refugee protection and to the promotion of human rights. "It is also a practical manifestation of international responsibility-sharing" (UNHCR, 2002, p.3). However of the three durable solutions, resettlement is considered most expensive and therefore restricted to the most vulnerable refugees.

UNHCR negotiates with Governments through the agreements of the 1951 Convention and/or its 1967 Protocol and identifies refugees for receiving countries to consider for resettlement. In 2009 however, the UNHCR identified more people needing resettlement than receiving nations could admit. This created a gap and the UNHCR addressed this by; (i) encouraging more countries to resettle refugees, (ii) encouraging already receiving countries to increase their intakes and finally (iii) prioritising resettlement needs. The UNHCR "pursues resettlement only as a last resort when it is in the best interests of refugees and where appropriate" (Bessa, 2009, p.95).

The influence of USA and European states post the Cold War resulted in resettlement losing its priority position to voluntary repatriation as the most preferred durable solution. Refugee receiving states however continue to identify and accept quota refugees for various reasons: as a humanitarian concern, in response to domestic pressure, for economic interests and finally for some to meet political and foreign policy interests. Refugee resettlement procedures put in place by refugee receiving states enable them to regain control over the whole process, determining what type of refugees they are willing to accept, how many and at what time (Bessa, 2009; Frelick, 2007).

Bessa argues that due to the lack of a clear legal definition of resettlement, receiving states bring in quota refugees that meet their criteria and they can admit them at a time determined by them.

While refugee receiving states have re-defined the durable solutions and their applicability due to the high numbers of refugees and the changing face of refugees, exclusive regulations such as strict border control have been implemented by states to prevent asylum seekers from crossing the borders (Refugee Voices, 2004). Bessa (2009) also notes that with the global recession, refugee receiving nations do not perceive refugees as a welcome labour force. Instead, citizens consider them a threat to their shrinking resources (labour market and welfare). The local people then resent the incoming of refugees and when the public interests are put on the drawing table, governments listen. According to Bessa, resettlement is also seen as a costly activity and the cultural adaptation of people who are settled presents big challenges for receiving states.

Resettlement in a third country continues to be an integral part of the durable solutions as it offers a safe place for a wide range of refugees who are not able to go back to their countries of origin or who cannot be integrated in their countries of first asylum (Bessa, 2009). My research is particularly focusing on this group of refugees as they constitute the largest number of refugees settling in New Zealand (Refugee Voices, 2004).

Refugee Resettlement in New Zealand

Types of Refugees

There are three main types of refugees coming to New Zealand and these are quota refugees, asylum seekers and those that come under the refugee family support category. While New Zealand accepts a quota of around 750 refugees per year, the number of asylum seekers has declined in the last decade from a 2 646 in 1998/99 to 271 in 2010/11. This is due to policies of regulation, containment and exclusion (Marfleet, 2007).

Quota Refugee Resettlement in New Zealand

New Zealand has been giving refuge on an ad hoc basis to people from Europe, South America, Middle East and Asia since the Second World War. In these early days of refugee acceptance, some refugees were more welcome than others depending on the economic benefits they would bring to New Zealand as there was less emphasis on humanitarian support (Beaglehole, 2009). From 1944, a clear distinction was made between migrants and refugees in official statistics, and by 1960, New Zealand became a signatory to the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees and in 1973 to the 1967 Protocol, working together with other parties to the Convention and Protocol to respond to the global humanitarian crisis in the different regions. In 1987 the quota was set at 800 refugees per year and this was reduced to 750 in 1997 to include the following sub-categories; women at risk, people with disabilities or needing medical attention and people with family already here, as well as refugees in general (Searle, Gruner and Duke, 2011). The composition and actual size of the quota are determined annually by the Ministers of Immigration and Foreign Affairs and Trade, following consultation with the UNHCR, relevant government departments, NGOs, refugee communities in New Zealand and other stakeholders (UNHCR, 2007).

Refugees coming under the quota are granted permanent residence status on arrival and this entitles them to similar rights as any New Zealand citizen in terms of access to employment, health care services, education and social welfare (Ministry of Health, 2001). However many refugees may not be aware of these rights and they may not be in a position to claim them, thereby continuing to be in a position of disadvantage. The table below shows the number of quota refugees coming into New Zealand from 2000 to 2010.

Table 6: - New Zealand Refugee Quota Intake and Source Countries

Year	Total number	Top 5 Source countries
2000/01	746	Myanmar, Somalia, Iran, Iraq and Ethiopia
2001/02	750	Afghanistan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Iraq, and Iran
2002/03	604	Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, Somalia and Sri Lanka
2003/04	812	Afghanistan, Iraq, Eritrea, Sudan and Ethiopia
2004/05	761	Afghanistan, Burundi, Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia
2005/06	741	Myanmar, Iran, Republic of Congo, Iraq and Afghanistan
2006/07	697	Myanmar, Afghanistan, Republic of Congo, Sudan and China
2007/08	750	Myanmar, Iraq, Eritrea, Bhutan and Afghanistan
2008/09	700	Bhutan, Myanmar, Iraq, Eritrea and Colombia
2009/10	709	Bhutan, Myanmar, Colombia, Congo and Afghanistan.

Source: Figures compiled by author from NZIS statistics website: <http://www.immigration.govt.nz/migrant/general/generalinformation/statistics/>

From the information in the table above, the source countries for refugees from 2001 to 2010 indicate New Zealand's commitment to respond to the global humanitarian crisis by accepting refugees from areas where there is major conflict. Although conflicts are continuing in Africa, the figures show a shift from African countries to countries in the Middle East and are in response to the New Zealand Government's refugee policies.

The findings of the Department of Labour, (2004) indicate that despite quota refugees receiving the most support in New Zealand compared to asylum seekers and migrants, they faced the most difficulties in terms of settlement. The Refugee Voices report states that quota refugees felt they still needed help to settle at two years, and after five years, many established quota refugees indicated that they still needed help to settle. Quota refugees rated their

English language ability lower than that of convention¹⁷ refugees, and after five years, more than one quarter of established quota refugees said they could not speak English well (p. 143).

Asylum Seekers

Another group of refugees coming into New Zealand are asylum seekers. These are people who flee from situations of war, terror, political unrest, violence in their home country, and who arrive in New Zealand in many cases with no documentation with the intention to seek asylum. The term asylum seeker refers to someone who has lodged a claim that he or she is a refugee, and is waiting for that claim to be accepted or rejected. Some asylum seekers will be granted refugee status and others will not. The Refugee Status Branch of Immigration New Zealand aims to have a decision made within 65 days for non-detained claimants and 50 days for detained claimants (Immigration New Zealand, 2011). Those who are initially unsuccessful can appeal to the Refugee Status Appeals Authority (Department of Labour, 2004).

These people do not have access to all the mainstream support that is offered to quota refugees and they have to rely on their own support systems until refugee status is granted. The period of waiting for a decision to be made is one of uncertainty and unrest for the asylum seeker whose status may be approved or denied. The period of status determination for appeals may take up to 2 years (Upreti, Basnel and Rimal 1999). If an application is declined, asylum seekers can appeal to the Refugee Status Appeals Authority with the Auckland Refugee Council working closely with asylum seekers through the application processes (Auckland Refugee Council website). The number of asylum seekers to New Zealand has been going down while the global numbers are going up. The top 5 source countries for asylum seekers to New Zealand are Iran, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Somalia and Iraq. A press release UNHCR (2009, para. 5.) quotes Richard Towle, the UNHCR Regional Representative, saying “the asylum claims in New Zealand remain very low despite the global increase which reflects its distance from the main refugee

¹⁷ Convention refugees are asylum seekers who have been granted refugee status.

producing regions and its increased border control measures". National policies and systems have a lot to do with the appraisal of asylum seekers for determination of refugee status. Refugee status determination works more efficiently for individual applications but in cases where there is a mass influx of people into a neighbouring country, these are just regarded as refugees as individual assessments would not be possible (UNHCR, 2011).

Table 7: Refugee claims decided by Refugee Status Branch, by financial year.

Financial Year Decided	Claim		Total claim	Subsequent claim		Subsequent claim total	Total Asylum claims
	Approved	Declined		Approved	Declined		
1997/98	260	966	1226				1226
1998/99	536	2110	2646				2646
1999/00	464	1947	2411				2411
2000/01	311	2091	2402				2402
2001/02	627	2002	2629				2629
2002/03	247	1042	1289				1289
2003/04	115	686	801				801
2004/05	81	417	498		1	1	499
2005/06	67	231	298	1	41	42	340
2006/07	62	153	215	4	52	56	271
2007/08	77	132	209	4	62	66	275
2008/09	69	139	208	3	29	32	240
2009/10	89	198	287	2	46	48	335
2010/11	21	215	236	-	35	35	271
2011/12	-	63	63	-	21	21	84
Totals	3026	12 392	15 418	14	287	301	15719

Source: Department of Labour, Business Information services (2011, p. 12).

Retrieved from: [http://www.immigration.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/FCDA531E-8691-4DE0-807B-](http://www.immigration.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/FCDA531E-8691-4DE0-807B-DD2484DDA329/0/RF1RefugeeStatusAppsAcceptedAndDecided08NOV2011.pdf)

[DD2484DDA329/0/RF1RefugeeStatusAppsAcceptedAndDecided08NOV2011.pdf](http://www.immigration.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/FCDA531E-8691-4DE0-807B-DD2484DDA329/0/RF1RefugeeStatusAppsAcceptedAndDecided08NOV2011.pdf)

From the 1990s to date, the reducing number of asylum seeker applications has been due to strict regulations at overseas ports (Upreti, Basnel and Rimal, 1999). Hence the number of approvals has also been going down.

Refugee Family Support Category

The third group of refugees coming into New Zealand is the Refugee Family Support Category where up to 300 people can be sponsored by their families who are residents or citizens of New Zealand. This programme meets family reunification, one of the greatest needs of resettled refugees. It allows family members who may not qualify under any other policy to be granted residence in New Zealand. The programme operates in tiers one and two, with tier one being the highest priority, and two the second priority (Immigration New Zealand, 2009). According to INZ specifications, sponsors who qualify for tier one have an opportunity for their relatives to apply for residence. If in a given year the numbers in tier one does not reach 300, then a ballot system is used to select sponsors from tier two. It is the responsibility of the sponsoring family members to meet the travel costs for their relatives who would have been granted approval to move to New Zealand. The task of raising the required funds is often a burden on the refugees who in many cases are struggling to meet their own daily needs (Department of Labour, 2004).

The total number of refugees resettled in New Zealand including the 750 quota varies from year to year depending on the number of convention refugees. From 1980 up to 2002, a total of 16 556 refugees were supported to resettle in New Zealand (Refugee Services Aotearoa, 2009, section 2, para. 3).

The Role of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

On the 14th of December 1950, the United Nations General Assembly established the United Nations' refugee agency with the mandate of assisting refugees generated by conflicts created by events of World War II. The 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees was adopted in the following year on

July 28th. On inception, the UNHCR's mandate was to support refugees for three years after which time it was supposed to disband. However as time progressed, conflicts continued to happen, some emanating from events of the World War that continued to generate refugees globally. The decolonisation of Africa in the 1960s and further conflicts in Europe in the 1950s as well as destabilisation in the Middle East has created many civil wars that have crossed into the 20th century. All these events have led to the relevancy of UNHCR, thus the organisation which was started to last only three years is in 2010 celebrating 60 years of providing support to the world refugees, asylum seekers and displaced persons.

The work of the UNHCR is to coordinate support to refugees as well as finding durable solutions to refugees. In the year ending 2009, over 128,000 refugees had been identified by UNHCR and presented to be considered for resettlement by refugee receiving states. Of the total group of concern to UNHCR, women and girls represented 49 per cent. They constituted 47 per cent of refugees and asylum-seekers, and half of all IDPs and returnees (former refugees) (UNHCR Global Trends, 2010). Only 84,000 refugees out of 128 000, were resettled with UNHCR's assistance in 2009.

The refugees of concern to UNHCR are spread around the world, with more than half in Asia and some 20 per cent in Africa. They live in widely varying conditions, from well-established camps and collective centres to makeshift shelters or living in the open. More than half of all refugees of concern to UNHCR live in urban areas. They all face three possible solutions: repatriation, local integration or resettlement.

The primary purpose of the UNHCR in managing refugee cases is to safeguard the rights and well being of refugees and its ultimate goal is to find durable solutions for refugees so that they are able to continue with their family life with peace and dignity. However a high proportion of refugees stay in

protracted¹⁸ situations where none of these durable solutions is viable. This makes the issue of refugee protection a hard one for UNHCR. New Zealand obtains their annual quota from cases recommended by UNHCR (New Zealand Country Chapter, 2007).

The Role of Immigration New Zealand

It is the mandate of the Refugee Quota Branch (RQB) of Immigration New Zealand (INZ) to assess the suitability of UNHCR mandated refugees coming to New Zealand, based on the criteria described in the New Zealand Country Chapter (2007). For the major part of the refugee contingent, Immigration New Zealand officers go into camps where refugees would have been identified by UNHCR as qualifying for resettlement and make their selection from that pool. The New Zealand resettlement programme also responds to emergency protection needs from different locations in different countries and these cases are given priority to all other categories of the quota refugee cases (UNHCR, 2007). The Immigration Service is responsible for issuing travel documents for the refugees.

Why Focus on Quota Refugees

This study focused on quota refugees because they consistently make up the highest percentage of refugees coming into New Zealand, 750 every year compared to the dwindling numbers of approved asylum seekers. From the year 2000 to 2010 the total number of asylum seeker applications for refugee status was 8928 with 1711 approvals, compared to 7026 quota refugees (New Zealand Immigration Statistics website).

The New Zealand quota of refugees contains the most vulnerable groups including women at risk, medical cases and those requiring protection. Bringing in these people to a developed country where they hope to start a new

¹⁸ The UNHCR definition of protracted situation is when 25 000 or more refugees of the same nationality are in exile for over five years.

self sustaining life and contribute to the socio-economic wellbeing of the nation requires that solid and effective structures be put in place to get the refugees adapted to the systems. Leaving them to the own devices after the six weeks support at Mangere or the one year support by Refugee Services in the community is not adequate to get them well on their way. Studies that have been carried out in the past focusing on satisfaction surveys (Department of Labour, 2004; Elliott and Gray 2004; Gruner and Searle, 2011 & Searle, Gruner and Duke, 2011) show that after 10 years of living in New Zealand, quota refugee outcomes continue to show gaps in terms of employment and integration. The surveys rate the levels of satisfaction with factors such as housing, employment, education, English language support, social integration and participation. The surveys to a greater extent respond to the questions; how, what, where, when, who, with little emphasis on the why component to how things are done the way they are done, and if there is a need for improvement, how this can be implemented.

This chapter introduced refugees and the causes of refugees while considering the current global patterns of refugees and what durable solutions the UNHCR and members states and NGOs implement to ensure the safety and protection of refugees. The chapter also considered the context of refugee resettlement in New Zealand and why this study has a focus on quota refugees. The next chapter goes into analyzing the theory and concepts of empowerment and power and how these relate to the refugee resettlement process in New Zealand.

Chapter Three

Empowerment: A Theoretical Perspective

This chapter discusses power and the theories of power as they relate to the empowerment process. It presents an argument around the dynamics of power and how development approaches and processes could be more empowering. Literature on power and empowerment used in this study date back to the 1960's and this was used as the original source as more current literature made reference to this literature to support their definitions. It was important for this study to carefully examine these original works to more accurately locate these contemporary works on power and empowerment. The chapter concludes by considering different levels of empowerment and their relationship to refugee resettlement processes.

What is Power?

The concept of service provider and beneficiary or client assumes that there is one who delivers the service and some one who is willing to receive that service. Such a scenario presents the service provider as the holder of power and the beneficiary being the one with no or lesser power. This kind of relationship may be found between funder and funded organisations as well as service provider and client relationships.

Power is the ability to get other people to do something that they would not do through their own will (Emerson, 1962, Weber, 1946). The mathematical field defines power as the rate at which work is done and can be measured using formulas. The rate at which work is done can be enhanced by use of mechanics. This implies that even in social relations, the issue of power is at work and the mechanics of power application lead to submission, domination, empowerment or disempowerment. Satterthwaite (2008) notes that:

Power is clearly at work in the categorization of individuals or groups as vulnerable. Having been constructed as victims, the members of the 'vulnerable' group do indeed become victims, but now are of the care and concern of the experts who classified them as such (p. xii).

When talking about power, other words such as influence, dominance, submission, status and authority come into mind (Emerson, 1962). In the social and management sector, power is described as the ability of one person or group to get another person or group to do something against their will (Dugan, 2003; Gaski, 1984 & Rowlands, 1995). Dugan goes further to state that power is about bringing about change and that change can be within or without or both.

Kelly (2004) argues that empowerment has to do with power and the relationship between those with power and those without. In the case of refugee resettlement in New Zealand, there are policy makers, funders, service providers, and refugees – the recipients of the services. In this situation where one gives and one receives, there are bound to be issues of power and dynamics around this power.

Various kinds of power are described by different authors. Rowlands differentiates power as “threat power, economic power and integrative power or power to create relationships such as love, respect, friendship and legitimacy” (Rowlands, 1995, p. 101). Threat power is where the dominant group uses threats to coerce the lesser group into doing what they would not do willingly. Economic power is where the group with more access to resources and wealth has the power to dictate to those who have less wealth and less access to resources. Rowlands goes on to define power in relation to dominance or power over, which is exemplified by men dominating other men, men dominating women or when dominant economic, political, social or cultural group exert their power over the marginalised group. According to Rowland, this form of power or domination can be applied subtly such that the oppressed group internalises the oppression and accepts it as true. An example of this happening can be a case where a child is not allowed to give any opinion. This child grows to believe that they cannot have any opinion to give

since any opinion given in the past was crushed. Thus they grow to be a reserved person who waits to take orders and suggestions from others. Such is the case with refugees who have been labelled in literature and media as vulnerable people who have gone through torture and much difficulty. As such, organisations that work with them do not portray the strength and resilient nature of refugees but focus more on their weaknesses. This is compounded by the assertion that if one is not able to fit in, it must be the individual's problem and not that of the system. The Refugee Voices report of the Department of Labour, (2004) reports that service provider focus group discussions suggested that refugees did not know where to go to find information and they were not aware of their entitlements with Work and Income and other services. The question arises: how are they supposed to know and if the current system is not informing them, who should? What the refugees are subjected to in terms of support further weakens them and puts them in a situation of helplessness as they wait to receive handouts, with their communication hampered by lack of skills in the language of the country of resettlement. Refugees therefore learn helplessness (Higgins, 1999).

Dynamics of Power and Power Relations

Power is a social phenomenon and happens between people's relations (Cartwright, 1959; Dahl, 1957; Emerson, 1962; Poggi, G. 2001 & Nagel, 1975). When one is said to have power, it is in relation to another person or group or situation. It is interesting that power cannot occur in isolation. To just state that one has power would have no meaning if there was no other person or group to relate to. Therefore according to Emerson, (1962), power is not the attribute of an individual but a property of social relations. The observation that Emerson makes is that one person may dominate another person or group while at the same time they are subservient to another person. This is what happens in organizational structures, even in the family unit where members have varying amounts of power depending on where they sit. The power relations can be in relation to one's gender and/or age within those different

genders. A father may have the supreme power in a family, followed by the mother and then the children, but in the absence of a father, the mother assumes the power and in the absence of the mother the eldest child assumes power. In some communities the eldest boy child would assume power. Therefore power can change and expand as affirmed (Emerson, 1962; Page and Czuba, 1999).

Theory of Power

The theory of power will be discussed with a focus on the process of service provision for refugees, starting from policy through to the recipient. The term agent will be used in the following discussion to represent an individual, a group or a community in describing power relations. Power is manifest in relationships where the influence of action of one agent, has an effect on the reaction of another agent. The power to cause change in another agent/individual or group can be achieved by coercion, exchange/carrot and stick, collaborative/integrative power and is demonstrated by the capacity to exert power over, power to and power with, respectively.

Cartwright (1965) as quoted by Gaski (1986) states that “when an agent O performs an act resulting in some change in another agent P, we say that O influences P. If O has the capability of influencing P, we say that O has power over P” (p. 9). In this case of domination, O has the capacity to make P do things that they would otherwise not do on their own.

The level of influence of O over P is determined by the level of resistance that P has to O and which O can potentially overcome (Emerson, 1962). This shows that in any level of dominance, there is some resistance to that domination but the agent with power is able to overcome the resistance by using cohesion, threat, persuasion or exchange power. Gaski (1984) states that the power of agent O over agent P is derived from the relationship that the two have that allows for the domination. French and Raven (1965) mention the following scenarios in which power is derived:

1. P's perception that O can mediate rewards for P
2. P's perception that O can invoke punishment on P
3. P's perception that O has a legitimate right to prescribe P's behaviour
4. P's recognition with O and
5. P's perception that O has some special expertise and knowledge (p. 10).

The power sources mentioned above are designated by reward, cohesive, legitimate, referent, and expert power respectively. The base for the power source is dependent on the perception that the one without power has of the one with power. Therefore power can change and is dynamic (Dugan, 2003). However incoming refugees are on the receiving end, having no form of power to determine their future and being fully dependent on the organisations and individuals that work with them. After a number of years living in New Zealand, they begin to realise their power base and demand to be included in decision making that pertains to their well-being.

The theory of power can also be explained by mutual power- dependence relationships between two parties, whereby the achievements and aspirations of agent O are facilitated by appropriate actions by agent P. In this situation of mutual dependency, each of the parties has to be able to control or have some influence on the conduct of the other agent. The two parties have to some extent the power to "grant or deny, facilitate or hinder the other's gratification" (Emerson, 1962, p. 32). The power to control in this instance lies in the ability of either party to control the things that are of value to the other party. A practical example of mutually dependent relationship could be that between the Department of Labour and Refugee Services Aotearoa. Department of Labour comes up with the refugee resettlement policy and provides funding to facilitate resettlement of refugees in New Zealand. Refugee Services Aotearoa New Zealand is the main Non Government Organisation contracted by the Department of Labour to resettle quota refugees. The relationship between the two organizations is facilitated by means of a contract where the two have to have mutual agreement to: i) meet outcomes of the funding organization, as well as to; ii) take into consideration the capacities and operations of the implementing organization. While

Department of Labour provides the funding, Refugee Services provides the expertise for implementation and the two are dependent on each other. Positive outcomes on the part of Refugee Services become positive outcomes for the funding organization as well, so they have to support each other and work hard to facilitate each other's gratification. According to Emerson (1962), the dependence of Department of Labour on Refugee services for implementation of the programme is the basis for power for Refugee Services and the dependence of Refugee Services on funding from Department of Labour is the basis for power for the Department of Labour. This theory applies to many other relationships in development and social work.

In another scenario, power may be presented by the notion of reciprocal power-dependence relationships whereby the power of agent O over agent P is met up with an equal opposing power of agent P over agent O (Emerson, 1962). Emerson argues that whilst both agents have power, their power is not neutralized by their interaction but a situation of dominance does not occur. Dominance occurs when there is an imbalance in the amount of power exhibited by either agent. Reciprocal power as explained by Emerson allows for the study of power in three forms, the first one being power advantage which is described by the difference between power of O and power of agent P. Though both agents have power, one would be having more power than the other, therefore having more capacity to influence the actions of the less powerful. This can be observed with refugee organizations that have been established in the past in New Zealand or those that are being established to meet the needs of refugees. Even though the refugee communities have relative power, their level of authority and access to resources is still limited due to lack of adequate funding. Much of the funding goes to well established organizations that have credibility by nature of their longer existence and years of experience dealing with funding institutions. However, funding organisations and mainstream services working with the refugee organizations acknowledge their power of having access to the

refugee community itself which the organizations want to reach to provide services.

The second form of reciprocal power relation is the cohesion of power which is the average of power O and power P, and the third one is balancing operations, which works to reduce power advantage. Emerson (1962) explains four generic power balancing relations which are:

1. If agent O reduces motivational investment in goals mediated by agent P;
2. If agent O cultivates alternative sources for gratification of these goals;
3. If agent P increases motivational investment in goals mediated by agent O and
4. If agent P is denied alternative sources for achieving their goals (p. 35).

Emerson explains the four scenarios above by giving an example of children playing together. In the first instance, when there are just two children, A and B, the power field is balanced and when a third child C comes into play and makes acquaintance with child B and not A, this will bring imbalance in the relation between child A and B. Since B has the acquaintance of both child A and C, she may feel the power to dictate to A. In order to continue to maintain that friendship, A will feel obliged to respond to the demands of B thereby creating a form of domination. Emerson explains that this domination can be balanced by child A withdrawing from the relationship, thereby creating a gap in the needs of B, so that child B will realize that she requires child A, or the children A, B and C may form friendships with other children D, E, and F, thereby widening the network of children involved in the play. The fact that the children are interlinked, that is if B and A are linked and C and B are linked, then A and C are bound to form a link as well and as a network will play with each other in the absence of the other party. The same

scenario goes for the other children who join the play group forming a wider network.

The theory of power explained above comes to play in the formation of community groups which may be diverse in their nature but need to come together to attain common objectives. In order to achieve their outcomes, groups need to have this capacity to realize power balancing relations, and mobilize the groups well to avoid creating conflict and fragmentation of groups, a situation which is common among minority ethnic groups (Department of Labour, 2004).

Following on from the networks, Emerson (1962) also talks about the formation of coalitions, where child A and C come together to counter the dominant power of child B. This is effective when there is an objective to be achieved and child C has an interest in achieving the same goal. She has no choice but to become part of the group. This scenario is observed in the formation of the Auckland Refugee Community Coalition, which as the chair person of the Coalition puts it that, "it was a hard task bringing all the representatives of refugee communities together so that they could together address the many challenges faced by people from refugee backgrounds" (presentation at the Refugee Community Celebration, 16/10/10).

Institutions by their nature can have a certain amount of power to influence community behaviour. Media is one example of an institution that carries power to influence. The image of a group or community can be enhanced or put down by the power of media and powers in authority can make use of the media to disseminate a message (Curan, 2002). The situation of refugees has sometimes been portrayed in the media as being a group that is unstable, makes no contribution to economic development but depends on the welfare systems of countries of resettlement (Higgins, 1999; Psounos, 2007). This image does not encourage refugee participation in socio-economic activities and is disempowering and isolating on the part of refugees. Because the pity story has been around for a long time, even people from refugee backgrounds may tend

to internalize this subordination and see themselves as hopeless (Higgins, 1999; Mestheneos, and Ioannidi, 2002).

Empowerment Approaches

The Oxford Press (2010) defines an approach as “a way of dealing with somebody/something; a way of doing or thinking about something such as a problem or a task” (<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/approach>). In my opinion, I would take it that an approach involves i) the identification of a task or a problem; ii) taking a decision whether to be involved in tackling the task or problem or not; iii) planning ways of dealing with the problem or the task, while taking into consideration all the internal and external influencing factors at play; iv) identifying the most appropriate method of dealing with the problem or task and v) implementing the identified course of activities to address the task or problem, while taking care to continuously reflect and further perfecting the plan to ensure that the desired outcomes or results are achieved.

Many forms of empowerment apply to human development and these can be direct (to do with individuals- also known as internal/self empowerment) or indirect (by service organisations – also known as external empowerment). Direct or internal empowerment involves enabling people in a given situation to take more responsibility for their actions, and indirect or external empowerment is when people are given more opportunities to make decisions pertaining to their situation or to deal with the task at hand (Wall and Leach, 2002). Empowerment embraces four main perspectives which are:-

- The individual or pluralist micro-level perspective which seeks to address problems and bring solutions at the individual level. The focus is on the individual and does not consider the impact of external factors e.g. teaching English to a mother who then goes home and fails to interact with the rest of the family in English. Failure is therefore attributed to the individual, e.g. when refugees fail to find work, the

problem is them. Some countries like Australia have issued statements that certain refugee communities are failing to integrate and therefore the government would be cutting down the numbers coming in as quota refugees, (Obijiofor, 2007).

- The institutional or elite perspective which focuses on the organisations and apportions the blame to institutions if outcomes are not being achieved. Strategies then are aimed at reforming the institution e.g. blaming the Refugee Services for poor refugee resettlement when the institution is bound by conditions from the funders (underlying problems). This perspective also talks of window dressing activities with no effect, e.g. in order to show representation of migrant or refugee communities in an organisation, a few people may be employed who have no power to make any decisions.
- The structural perspective where power structures are in place that may be capitalist, racist, patriarchal and oppressive. Examples can be the resettlement policies that beneficiaries of the programme have no say on. Bringing about social justice would be to challenge some of these structural barriers. The process of refugee resettlement is set and each refugee who resettles into New Zealand goes through almost the same process.
- Finally the post structural perspective which defines power and how it is understood in the different communities. This is about liberating education, participatory action research, bringing the refugees to a dialoguing platform where they begin to understand the core issues in resettlement and employment. Empowerment therefore involves the internal capability and an enabling environment that allows empowerment to take place.

What is Empowerment?

Empowerment has its roots in popular education as advocated by Freire (1970) and the feminist movement of the 1980's. Empowerment in the contemporary

world is a term or concept found within the Rights Based Approach (RBA) among others. Within the RBA framework, Boesen and Martin (2007) talk of empowerment as one of the concepts where the central dynamic is about rights holders and duty bearers. Marginalised people are treated as rights holders and active participants to their own development while service providers bear the duty to support marginalised people out of their predicament. Within this framework, the aim is to identify the major barriers to success and deal with them. Empowerment then is about duty-bearers meeting their obligations to enable right holders to claim their rights. According to Boesen and Martin, empowerment in this sense removes charity or welfare by emphasising rights and responsibilities. They argue that “ RBA focuses on participation and empowerment of the poor and their right to hold governments and other responsible actors accountable and in this way it legitimises and supports the struggle of poor people to secure the full spectrum of their rights” (Boesen and Martin, 2007, p.12).

Empowerment has become applicable in many disciplines such as education, psychology, health, study of social movements, community development, organizations, management, and economics among others. Within these different disciplines, the term empowerment is perceived differently. Page and Czuba (1999) suggest that a clear definition must be provided for each project in order to enable formulations of measures of success so that the effect of empowerment can be easily observed or measured after the implementation of such programmes. Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton and Bird (2009), also reiterate that failing to clearly define empowerment weakens its value as a tool for analysis or as an agent for change.

The term empowerment is sometimes used loosely in the development sector as a buzz word to attract funding (Page and Czuba, 1999), or is not clearly defined within the context of its use (Alsop, Bertelson and Holland, 2006; Wilkinson, 1998), such that there are no mechanisms to measure progress and the word faces “the danger of losing any inherent meaning” (Chamberlin, 2009, p.1). The term empowerment is also used widely in the business sector where

empowered staff members can be motivated enough to run enterprises with ingenuity, integrity and innovation (Alsop et al, 2006; Mayle, 2006).

One form of empowerment that is referred to in the literature is psychological empowerment. Several aspects of human capacity are embraced within psychological empowerment. Spreitzer (1995), in a study on psychological empowerment in the workplace, identifies and validates psychological empowerment's multidimensional nature. Psychology deals with the humanmind, thought and emotions and is influenced by external factors and environments that individuals may not have control of. Resettled refugees come from troubled environments and have a lot going on in their minds, thoughts and emotions. Service organisations that work with refugees require skills that build psychological empowerment among other things.

Empowerment can be defined according to the field of study. Substantive research and practical work has been carried out in the health and management sectors, with some attempts made to define empowerment based approaches when working with clients. However the lack of clear definition of the term and lack of clarity of its measurable outputs have left observers wondering whether the term has any significance (Spreitzer, 1995; Zimmerman, 1995). Chamberlin (2010) argues that within the health sector in the United States of America, many organizations mention empowerment in their plans but the lack of means to measure the level of empowerment makes it difficult to determine whether the operations of those organizations that mention empowerment are any different to those organizations that do not mention it. One therefore wonders whether empowerment is a measurable outcome or an observable outcome, and if so how can it be reported in development programmes.

Contextual Definitions of Empowerment

In this section I will consider the various definitions of empowerment and relate them to refugee resettlement.

The World Bank defines empowerment as:

The process of enhancing the capacity of an individual or groups to make choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes. Central to this process are the actions which both build individual and collective assets, and improve the efficiency and fairness of the organisational and institutional context which govern the use of these assets (Alsop, Bertelson, and Holland, 2006, retrieved from: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTEMPowerment/Resources/Empowerment_in_Practice.pdf, para. 1).

This definition can be applied to individual refugees, their families and communities as well as organisations that provide services to refugees.

Page and Czuba (1999) define empowerment as “a multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is a process that fosters power in people for use in their own lives, their communities and in their society, by acting on issues they define as important” (p.1). Page and Czuba argue that it is important to acknowledge that power can change and power can expand. They claim that if power could not change, then empowerment would not be possible. They hold the view that power is not inherent in individual people but in relationships; power levels can vary depending on the situation and context; with the individual’s levels of power increasing and/or decreasing in different situations. This means that a person who may exude power at one moment may find themselves with no power at all moments later.

In relation to refugee resettlement, Chile, Elliot, Liev and Tito (2007) present empowerment as processes that focus on “recognising the strengths and personal resources that refugees possess, such as resilience and survival skills” (p. 265), as well as their life experiences, educational and work experience and building these into support strategies that assist refugees to gain control over their lives and their wellbeing.

Adams (1996) defines empowerment as “the process whereby individuals, groups and/or communities become able to take control of their circumstances and achieve their own goals, thereby having the ability to work towards helping themselves and others to maximise the quality of their lives” (p. 5). This is further echoed by Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton and Bird (2009) who consider empowerment as a multi-dimensional approach defined as “a

progression that helps people gain control over their own lives and increases the capacity of people to act on issues that they themselves define as important" (p. 16). The question that comes to mind is to what extent direct provision of social welfare benefits and other services contribute to the empowerment of refugees in New Zealand. If welfare is a necessary requirement to meet basic needs according to Maslow and Lowery, (1998) and Longwe (1991), then how can post settlement programmes be implemented in ways that they empower people who would be in disempowered situations?

Another broad definition of empowerment Rappaport (1987) and Zimmerman and Rappaport (1988) provide is when people have control over their own lives and act together with others to influence and change their political and social realities. In this definition, power starts at the individual level moving outward to the wider community. Robbins, Chatterjee and Canda (1998) define empowerment as "a process by which individuals and groups gain power, access to resources and control over their own lives. In doing so, they gain the ability to achieve their highest personal and collective aspirations and goals" (p. 91). This is reiterated by Rappaport (1987), as quoted by Zimmerman (1995), who states that "empowerment is a process by which people, organizations, and communities gain mastery over an issue of concern to them" (p. 581). This definition can relate to refugee led community organisations and the coalitions and networks that refugees have established.

In a conventional context, Rowlands (1995) defines empowerment as:

Bringing people who are outside the decision-making process into it. This puts a strong emphasis on access to political structures and formal decision-making and, in the economic sphere, on access to markets and incomes that enable people to participate in economic decision-making. It is about individuals being able to maximize the opportunities available to them without or despite constraints of structure or state (Rowlands, 1995, p. 102).

In the United States of America, Chamberlin (2010), who is a psychiatric survivor and an advocate for clients' rights, worked with fellow survivors in a research project to come up with a working definition of empowerment. For this project, designed to study participants with mental health issues in a self-

run, self-help project, the group defined empowerment not as an event or an outcome but a process in which people would have the following qualities:

- Have the power to make decisions.
- Have ease of access to information and resources.
- Are able to make choices and having a range of options from which to choose from; (not just yes/no, either/or.)
- Are assertive.
- Have a feeling of usefulness that drives one as an individual to hope for change and to desire to make a difference (being hopeful).
- Learn the skill to think critically; being familiar with the conditions of the surrounds; seeing things in other ways; e.g.,
 - Learning to redefine who we are (speaking in our own voice).
 - Learning to redefine our capabilities, what we can do.
 - Learning to redefine our relationships to institutionalized power.
- Learn about and expressing anger.
- Not having a solitude feeling, but feeling part of a group.
- Have an understanding of peoples' privileges to their rights.
- Be able to implement change in one's life and one's community.
- Learning skills (e.g. communication) that the individual defines as important.
- Changing others' perceptions of one's competency and capacity to act.
- Coming out of the closet.
- Growth and change that is never ending and self-initiated.
- Increasing one's positive self-image and overcoming stigma (Chamberlin, 2010, para 3).

Adopted from: A working definition of empowerment website:
http://www.power2u.org/articles/empower/working_def.html

The attributes stated above have a close link to the refugee community even though these relate to the mental health sector. These attributes are interesting and will be looked at in depth in the following paragraphs that discuss examples of empowerment programmes.

Finally Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton and Bird (2009) conceptualize empowerment as “an emancipation process in which the disadvantaged are empowered to exercise their rights, obtain access to resources and participate actively in the process of shaping society and making decisions” (p. 2).

The definitions given above present empowerment as a process rather than an event (Chamberlin, 2010; Page & Czuba, 1999; Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton &

Bird 2009; Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Rowlands, 1995 & The World Bank 2010). The implementation of empowerment strategies calls for commitment from those with power as the process can be “desperately slow” (Rowlands, 1995, p. 105). Professionals working with marginalized people through an empowerment process need to learn new ways of working where they act more as facilitators without being directive, acknowledging that true empowerment cannot be bestowed upon individuals but comes from within, with individuals working through the process at their own pace, bearing in mind their varying backgrounds.

The main words that emerge from all the definitions of empowerment above are process, enhancing capacity, choices/decisions, greater/gain control, resources that affect people’s lives. What can be deduced is that for empowerment to take place there has to be enhancement of people’s capacity and provision of information to enable those in a marginalized situation to make decisions with regards to resources and choices that affect their lives. In refugee resettlement external factors play a significant role in shaping empowerment outcomes for the refugee community.

While empowerment can be defined differently to suit different contexts, the basics of empowerment remain the same. It is about according an opportunity to the powerless to gain power so that they are able to be in control of their lives in any given situation.

Forms of Empowerment

According to Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton and Bird (2009), dialogue on empowerment in development programmes commonly relates to issues of social, political and economic empowerment. The table below shows the various forms of empowerment:

Table 8: - Empowerment types and their attributes

Empowerment type	Attributes of type of empowerment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic empowerment 	Economic empowerment seeks to ensure that people have the appropriate skills, capabilities and resources and access to secure and sustainable incomes and livelihoods. Related to this, some organisations focus heavily on the importance of access to assets and resources. <i>The challenge with refugees is identifying the individual skill levels and capabilities in order to develop these in a way that leads to economic empowerment of individuals, families and communities in the country of resettlement. Issues of finding jobs are important contributors to economic empowerment. The measure of the levels of empowerment may vary depending on individuals' perception of empowerment.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human and social empowerment 	This considers empowerment as a multidimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. This is a process that fosters power (i.e. the capacity to implement) in people, for use in their own lives, their communities and their society, by being able to act on issues that they define as important. <i>In the process of resettlement, would the time factor from the time refugees arrive in a country of resettlement to the time they move into the community allow for human and social empowerment to occur? Issues of interest here are the social benefits, ease of access to English Language courses to improve language proficiency and pathways to employment.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political empowerment 	This is the capacity to analyse, organize and mobilize. This results in the collective action that is required for collective change. It is often related to rights based approach to empowerment and the empowering of citizens to claim their rights and entitlements. <i>The challenge with resettled refugees is to know their rights and articulating their rights when dealing with the general public and public services in many instances where language is a barrier. It can also be a long term process in cases where the resettlement process is not rights based and resettled refugees have to take it upon themselves to analyse, organize and mobilize themselves to challenge institutions for their rights.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural empowerment 	This is the redefining of rules and norms and the recreating of cultural and symbolic practices. This may involve focusing on minority rights by using culture as an entry point. <i>This scenario is particularly applicable to refugees who are in many cases a very small group with special needs, who can be very easily overlooked and neglected. In New Zealand minority groups identify around their cultural associations.</i>

Source: Understanding and operationalising empowerment by Luttrell, Quiroz, Sutton and Bird (2009, p.1.). (My commentary in italics)

Empowerment can occur for people at various levels such as individual, household, group, community or organizations and varies depending on the context and time (Page and Czuba, 1999; Zimmerman, 1995).

Refugee resettlement embodies concepts of community development in which it is assumed that during the development process, the refugee community moves from one level of knowledge, decision making, action, and participation, to another level where they take responsibility and make decisions that affect their own lives. Chile, Mumford & Shannon (2006) describe community development as distributive strategies that intervene to “enhance social justice and economic equity” (p. 400). One wonders, would refugees who have just travelled from a refugee camp, some of whom have not operated a flush toilet or used an electric cooker or washing machine before, be in a position to make decisions that pertain to their lives in a developed community such as New Zealand or any other country of resettlement? Would the support system allow these people to make decisions wherever possible about their life? This study addresses some of these questions by consulting people from refugee backgrounds to get their perceptions on some of these matters.

Concept of Empowerment

The study focuses on the concept of empowerment and how this can be applied to quota refugee resettlement in New Zealand. When one talks about empowerment, the linkage between power and knowledge comes into play. It describes the relation between those with power and those without power. These terms are different but work well together since the power to make decisions relates to the level of knowledge that one has (Kelly, 2004). Some authors believe that the empowerment theory is yet to fully articulate the relationship between power and empowerment, with some stating that empowerment relates more to individuals (Speer and Hughey, 1995) and some understanding power to be a social phenomena (Alinsky, 1971). In a synopsis of articles on empowerment, Perkins and Zimmerman (1995)

advocate for empowerment theory, research and intervention that has connections between an individual's wellbeing, and the social and political environments. Perkins and Zimmermans' empowerment theory compels development practitioners to think "wellness versus illness; competence versus deficits and strengths versus weaknesses" (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995, p. 569). Perkins and Zimmerman go on to explain empowerment research as one that;

Focuses on identifying capabilities instead of cataloguing risk factors and exploring environmental influences of social problems instead of blaming victims. Empowerment-oriented interventions enhance wellness while they also aim to ameliorate problems, provide opportunities for participants to develop knowledge and skills and engage professionals as collaborators instead of authoritative experts (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995, p. 569p.570).

The conceptual framework of empowerment is based on the premise of "helping individuals achieve greater control over the resources that affect their lives" (Miller and Rasco, 2004, p. 46;) and "an intentional ongoing process centred in the community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring and group participation through which people lacking an equal share of valued resources gain greater access to and control over those resources" (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995, p 570). In a study of community organisations' empowerment in the USA, Speer and Hughey (1995) identify the concept of empowerment as "the ability of community organisations to reward or punish community targets, control what gets talked about in public debate, and shape how residents and public officials think about their community" (p. 732).

The Longwe framework (1991) as quoted by Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton and Bird (2009), provides stages of empowerment starting from welfare support through to a point where the empowered group has control over resources and decisions. In the framework below my comments are in italics.

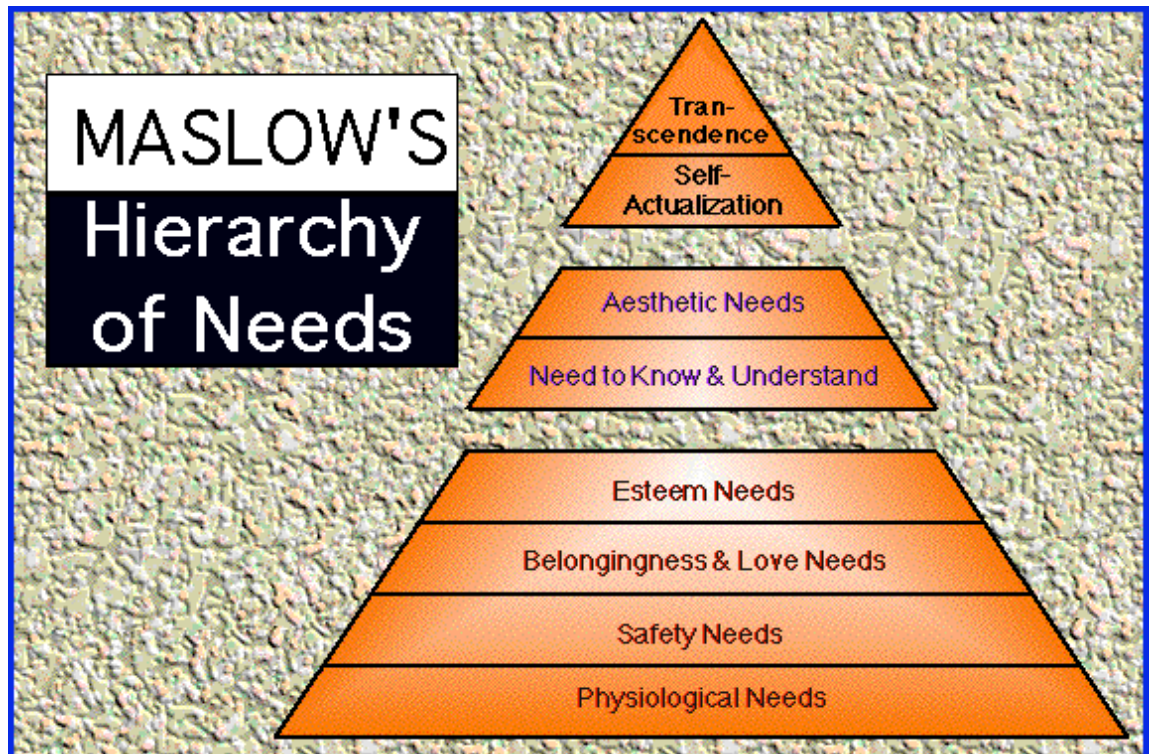
- The welfare stage: where basic needs are satisfied. This does not necessarily require structural causes to be addressed and tends to view those involved as passive recipients. *This forms the major component of the New Zealand refugee resettlement programmes.*

- The access stage: where equal access to education, land and credit is assured. *Even though in New Zealand this is stated on paper, mechanisms to get this working on the ground are still lacking.*
- The conscientisation and awareness – raising stage: where structural and institutional discrimination is addressed *and efforts are made to establish structures of power to and power with relationships between service organisations and refugees.*
- The participation and mobilization stage: where equal taking of decisions is enabled and,
- The control stage: where individuals can make decisions and these are truly recognized *and valued not just window dressing* (p. 5).

Longwe's empowerment framework to some extent tabulates Maslow's hierarchy of needs and argues that the lower level of empowerment, which is the welfare degree or phase where beneficiaries are passive recipients, is important and has to take place in order for the recipients to move to the next phase until they are in full control of situations and processes that influence their quality of life. The whole process becomes an empowerment process.

Figure 2 – Maslow's Hierarchy of needs

In their explanation of the hierarchy of needs, Maslow and Lowery (1998) present the hierarchy of needs as in the figure below:



Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Retrieved from, <http://www.edpsycinteractive.org/topics/conation/maslow.html> (para. 1)

Maslow and Lowery explain that the bottom four needs are deficiency needs and the top four are growth needs. While in the deficiency stage, he argues that the needs at a lower level must be met before the next level is aspired for and that once the lower level need has been met, if a deficiency arises again, then the person will work hard to eliminate that deficiency.

People from refugee backgrounds come into the country of resettlement with a total re-organisation of their hierarchy of needs. The level at which individual refugees are within the hierarchy varies. The responsibility then lies with the organisations supporting refugees in the resettlement process to identify the needs and address them in a way which is empowering and meeting the needs at the same time.

Theories of Empowerment

The theory of empowerment aims to understand and explore the processes of power and how those people without power can have access to power and the links between thoughts, research and application of empowerment strategies. It also relates to the linkages between individuals and the wider social, economic, psychological and political environments (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995). Perkins and Zimmerman point out that a development strategy that is focused on empowering communities enhances the welfare of powerless people by acknowledging their skills and knowledge, while professionals take part as collaborators and not experts who impose their knowledge and skills. Because of the diversity of application of the notion of empowerment, the processes and outcomes cannot be standardised as they vary depending on the programmes being implemented.

Empowerment protocols differ and take different forms depending on the context and life domains. Within organisations, variations occur depending on whether the structure is tall or flat, whether organisation has a participatory approach to work or authoritarian. Zimmerman (1995) highlights that empowered individuals working in an authoritarian organisation may need to mobilize collective action to deal with situations in their work place. It is imperative that processes and outcomes are clarified in different contexts and populations (Rappaport, 1984; Zimmerman, 1993).

The theory of empowerment is applicable at individual, organizational and community level and it is critical to determine the processes and outcomes that relate to each level, aiming for a reciprocal connection between empowered individuals and communities. Perkins and Zimmermann argue that certain processes (structures, actions and activities) may be empowering and the outcomes of such processes may result in some level of empowerment of individuals, groups or communities. Some organizations however put structures in place for empowerment but the actions and activities indicate

that those with power are not willing to relinquish it (Quinn and Spreitzer, 2001).

Individual Empowerment

Individual empowerment is about undoing internalized oppression and building confidence and capacity from within (Rowlands, 1995). With empowerment being a dynamic variable that changes over time, individuals may go through periods of empowerment and disempowerment and feel empowered and disempowered at different times as well (Zimmerman, 1995). When one considers family life, a refugee father who is not fluent in the language of the country where they settle may feel very empowered when he is in his home with his household or with other members of his community, but feel very disempowered when they face officers within Work and Income for a benefit. The whole idea of not being able to express themselves, maybe having to rely on their children for translation, and the humiliation of being a recipient may bring not only a feeling of disempowerment but of shame (Department of Labour, 2004).

People can be empowered at an individual level by “promoting self esteem, job competencies, or literacy” (Wallerstein, 1993, p. 218). Perkins and Zimmerman (1995) see one of the aspects of individual empowerment being participation in community organizations and the outcome may be control and resource mobilization skills. These are areas that are pertinent for the refugee community as most of the refugees coming to New Zealand are from a non English speaking background and they find it hard to be accepted in the job market as they lack proficiency in the language. Language challenges impact on refugees’ self esteem, resulting in negative employment outcomes. Issues of finding work, literacy, acceptance and discrimination are high on refugees’ agenda as they find themselves in many cases unemployed, under employed or working in high risk, low paying and low skill jobs (Psoinos, 2007; Beiser, and Hou, 2006; Colic-Peisker and Tilbury, 2006). The use of language enables one to communicate not only the basics but the complex nature of human expression. As Gubbay puts it:

Our daily lives consist of contact with a large number of community and work organisations and institutions, and their procedures and practices. Within these institutions we are in touch with groups and hierarchies of people operating to spoken and unspoken 'rules' and expectations. In this complex institutional context, we are also meeting individual personalities, operating to personal moods, pressures, aims and expectations, to which they provide signs and clues that may be overt but are probably quite covert. We bring to these unpredictable encounters our own strengths and weaknesses, fears, diffidence, knowledge and ignorance and most importantly, we bring our own feelings of worth and status which either strengthen us or undermine us (Gubbay, 1989, p.295).

Coming to New Zealand which is an individualist society (Department of Labour, 2004) is a challenge for many refugees who have to go about on their own and address the day to day issues of life, in a language that they cannot understand or express themselves proficiently.

Organisational/Group Empowerment

Empowerment can occur at group or organizational level with the processes of empowerment including shared leadership and collective decision making. The outcomes are the establishment and maintenance of organisational networks, policy leverage and organizational growth (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995). Speer and Hughey (1995), highlight three mechanisms of power and control within organisations. The first one is organisations that own more money compared to the others, have the resources for higher level bargaining or are organised in terms of personnel and have the greatest power. The second level is organisations that are in a position to impose or eliminate barriers for participation in any form, which have control over subjects of discussions and can limit the participation of others through control of agendas. The third one is organisations that have the power to influence or shape ideologies and myths such as when media portrays refugees as social benefactors or a burden on resources, waiting to receive from Government coffers with nothing to give (Psoinos, 2007). From Speer and Hughey's analysis of power, organisations can be said to be empowered when they are in control of the instruments of power and they can fully apply them. In the case of refugees in New Zealand and in many countries where they are resettled, the power to control any of these three levels stated above does not exist. The challenge is to ensure that during the resettlement process,

mechanisms of power sharing are implemented if the refugee community is to end up in a position where they can fully be in control of their existence.

Community Level Empowerment

The challenge for community level empowerment lies in the bringing together of organisations with influences at the second level, to become one coalition advocating for the needs of vulnerable groups. According to Perkins and Zimmerman (1995), outcomes of community empowerment may include the presence of organizational coalitions, accessible community resources and evidence of pluralism. Speer and Hughey (1995), in observing community organisations, point out that “communities operate as a consequence of ever changing sets of organisations that compete to enforce their self-interest and prevail with regard to various community issues” (p. 732). Depending on what defines the community, whether spatial or non-spatial, refugee communities function in a sphere where there are a whole range of other organisations that are also pushing their own agendas, resulting in situations of powerlessness at the refugees’ end.

In the case of refugees, it is important that their strength and resilience attributes are identified and acknowledged in the process of resettlement so that they can be involved in information processing and assimilation, taking an active role in the decision making processes. This can happen if refugees are regarded not as objects of pity or as burdens to society, but as contributors to the socio-economic development of their new communities (Essed, Frerks and Schrijvers, 2004). Higgins (1999) and Strömblad and Bengtsson (2009) discuss parameters of community involvement and participation and its relation to empowerment. Higgins points to the fact that individuals who are not empowered express themselves through powerlessness, alienation and loss of a sense of control over their lives.

Power and empowerment are important factors to be consciously considered in development programmes if the outcomes expected are an empowered community. Refugee resettlement is a programme that has the potential to

make these considerations to ensure that resettled refugees are to some extent on a level playing field with the host communities in countries where they are settled.

The next chapter of this thesis discusses the methodology and methods of data collection.

Chapter Four

Methodology and Methods of Data Collection

Refugees come from situations of trauma, violence, gross violation of human rights, wars and ethnic conflicts. This means that refugees constitute a vulnerable group, and doing research with them requires sound ethical considerations. Part of this ethical requirement is the acknowledgement that they hold power and information. They are not simply objects of research, but have agency to participate in research.

This chapter argues for the refugee group as an important part of community with equal rights as all other citizens and therefore should be treated with respect. They are valued as information holders and people who are able to reflect on their past life situations and be able to make sound decisions about their future. With a focus on the participants, it goes on to describe the processes of identifying research partners and then justification for the research framework to suit the information gathering with the refugee community. The chapter discusses data collection and analysis (highlighting major themes) and concludes with some limitations of the study.

Nakhid, Fa'alogo, Faiva, Halafihi, Pilisi, Senio, Taylor, & Thomas (2007) in a research study on improving Pacifica students' achievements, argue that "each community in their own manner is capable of advocating for itself. The problem lies not in the election, presentation and articulation of their research and information, but in the way this research is accepted by those communities in power and the resources allocated to enable them to carry out its recommendations" (p. 17).

Selener (1997) notes that knowledge is power and refugee communities are full of knowledge that development agencies need to know so that they can work with them more effectively. Allowing refugees to share this knowledge, giving them space to think through their problems and make decisions about their

future reinstates their self-worth and increases their participation. One of the observations in the Refugee Voices study of 2004 was that “in the process of resettlement, refugees can disappear into the community as other agencies and people speak on their behalf” (Department of Labour, 2004, p. 369). However, Harrell-Bond and Voutira (2007) argue that it is “the duty of the researchers to speak on behalf of refugees” (p. 281), within a research framework that is empowering to the refugee community. In the article the authors talk of participatory empowering research methods.

The Refugee Voices report of Department of Labour (2004) recommends areas of research focused on specific sectors such as health, women, youth, mental health but does not touch on issues of governance and empowerment of the refugee community itself. Is there value in continuing to fragment this community which is already in a vulnerable position, or if there is need for fragmentation when investigating issues, at what point are the findings consolidated to address the issues of a community as whole with a focus on empowerment?

The development of neutral policies, strategies, and action plans to support refugees without a specific focus on empowerment, does not guarantee empowerment outcomes for the refugees. The question still remains – regarding this group of people of high needs, is there a possibility to incorporate models that establish a united voice, speaking and deliberating with the governing structures on the kind of support that is empowering thereby strengthening the refugee community in New Zealand?

Research Participants

The research targeted people from refugee backgrounds who had been living in New Zealand for more than 10 years and who could communicate in English. Participants who had lived for more than ten years in New Zealand were chosen as they would reasonably understand the various systems that work with refugee resettlement in New Zealand, and be in a better position to make

informed contribution to the resettlement programme going forward. The study also aimed to reach community leaders who were in a position to speak on behalf of their other community members who had limitations in the English language. This was done to eliminate use of interpreters. The decision not to use interpreters was made to reduce the cost and time limitations within which to complete a Masters Thesis research. Using interpreters would have lengthened the process for data collection and analysis. This decision however could have had an impact on the recruitment process as some potential participants were obviously excluded from the process, and this may influence the diversity of views that could be included in the study. I relied on the voice of community leaders to give their responses from a community perspective.

Research participants originated from different countries and had different religions, cultures and values. I used my years of work experienced as a community development worker in dealing with people from these diverse backgrounds during interview and focus group discussions. The interviewee who had lived in New Zealand the longest among the participants was here for thirty years and the most recent had lived in New Zealand for 10 years.

While carrying out individual interviews, I ensured that cultural appropriateness was maintained at all times. Where there was a need to have an accompanying person, this was organised. I was aware that in some cultures men do not shake hands or cannot be in a space with a woman who is not family. After identifying the individual participants for interviews and focus groups, I continued to consult with the community leaders to identify the most appropriate cultural responses depending on the individuals or group. I also communicated with the participants before the day of the interview to ascertain the most appropriate place to meet that participants were most comfortable with. The study methodology was flexible to ensure that relevant information was gathered without coercion or force or discomfort.

The use of individual interviews and focus group discussions were chosen as methods of data collection to allow participants to air their own views, but also

to enable them to put their minds together and talk about the concept of empowerment and to what extent the resettlement process has empowered them.

Recruitment Process

Initial consultation meetings were held with the Chairperson and the Secretary General of the Auckland Refugee Community Coalition (ARCC) in order to garner their support for the research. I had the opportunity to present the proposed research to the management committee of the ARCC and the members were all in favour and support of the research. Some community leaders produced letters of support for the research. They acknowledged that not much research if any had been done to look at refugee resettlement from an empowerment perspective.

While the community leaders were in full support of the project, they gave suggestions as to the design of the research project to involve all levels of the refugee community to give them an opportunity to take part in the interview and focus group processes. They suggested that the study should obtain the opinions of community leaders within the refugee coalition, community leaders within the community, and individual refugees who held no portfolio. Their argument was that having participants from all levels of the refugee community enabled different views to be gathered, thereby enriching the quality of the data.

The leaders pointed out that this kind of research was required as it helps to inform policy and service providers within the sector. The leaders saw the research as purely focused on resettlement with no concerns over what the community would consider as cultural issues. The research also focused on people living in New Zealand for over 10 years. The participants were adults (20 years and over), who had lived in New Zealand for 10 years or more and were able to communicate in the English Language without a need for interpreters. Another requirement was that the informants should not have a mental health condition that might impair their judgements and contributions.

For participants from the refugee community, a gender balance was aimed for in order to get perspectives from both men and women. During the recruitment process, it was practically difficult to get women participants because they often cancelled appointments due to other family commitments, or were not forthcoming to participate for other reasons which may include the level of confidence, or simply lack of interest in the study. Fewer women participants could also be an indication of the cultural and religious barriers that refugees have, limiting women's opportunity to engage in public discussions and engagement. There was an effort to ensure that participants were representative of at least 10 ethnic groups/communities and this was achieved.

Purposive sampling and stratified purposive sampling as well as snowball sampling were used to select participants from those recruited. These people were aware of the systems in New Zealand and were willing to participate and contribute towards the shaping of future resettlement programmes in New Zealand.

Significance and Benefits of the Study

This study was carried out as it complements the research done by government that surveyed the level of satisfaction of people from refugee backgrounds. However it goes further to review the strengths of the current resettlement programmes and what could be done to further enhance the resettlement process for more effective and quicker integration of quota refugees. Studies such as the Refugee Voices report of the Department of Labour (2004) focused on determining levels of satisfaction and the degree of settlement, with not much emphasis on the actual process of resettlement and how it could be strengthened for the benefit of refugee communities.

It is hoped that the findings of this study will contribute to the volumes of information and research done on refugee resettlement and also to the formulation of refugee resettlement policies and possible implementation of

strategies that are more empowering. The study will benefit statutory as well as non government and community organisations working with refugees.

The process of participation in the research gave participants an opportunity to review the whole resettlement journey and enabled them to look ahead and to suggest ways that some settlement activities could be improved. It enabled the participants to be aware of empowerment strategies and how these can be implemented in one's development process to achieve positive outcomes. The whole process was to some extent empowering to the refugee community. The participants in the research were also able to relate their resettlement to the integration process.

Methodology

The research was a qualitative study which aimed to explore current policies for quota refugee resettlement and investigate the presence and application of any empowerment strategies during the resettlement process. "The qualitative approach uses small, information-rich samples selected purposefully to allow the researcher to focus in depth on issues important to the study" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 201). Qualitative study was chosen over quantitative study as it is "pragmatic, interpretive and grounded in the lived experiences of people" (Marshall and Rossman, 1999, p. 2). Qualitative research raises questions about the nature of humans and questions social policies that enhance the well-being of humans (Higgs, 1997). This approach related well to the research topic as it sought to explore what forms of resettlement lead to refugee emancipation and freedom to participate in the socio-economic sectors of the countries in which they settle.

Quantitative research which is deductive and based on experimental designs was not opted for in this study as the aim was not to look at numbers of satisfied or unsatisfied participants but rather to consider issues around the process of resettlement and how best this can be enhanced to benefit the refugee community. How people from refugee background "think, talk, feel and

interact” (Higgs, 1998, p. 23) in regards to resettlement was explored in the research.

The theoretical frameworks under which the study was carried out were Interpretive Research (Morgan, 1993), and Critical Theory (Neuman, 2006). These frameworks guided the research in understanding the lived experiences of people from refugee backgrounds as they went through the resettlement process, and in gathering their ideas on how the process could have been improved to achieve better empowerment and settlement outcomes. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) challenge the traditional forms of qualitative inquiry which assume the neutrality of the researcher, but argue that all research is interpretive and is “guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied” (p. 13). Interpretive Research was a preferred method as it aims to work with the researched group as participants rather than as “passive objects of inquiry” (Marshall and Rossman, 1999, p. 4). The Interpretive Research framework allowed participants an opportunity to state in their own words how they felt about and perceived all the efforts from support people/organisations and all the events surrounding their resettlement process.

Critical Theory falls within the post-modern worldview which assumes that “knowledge is subjective rather than being objective truth” (Marshall and Rossman, 1999, p.4), but goes further to critique the traditional qualitative research bearing in mind that research involves issues of power and that traditional research tends to eliminate other forms of knowing and “legitimizes elite social scientists” (p. 4). While this research drew on the vast amounts of knowledge generated so far with regards to refugee resettlement in New Zealand, the main purpose of the study was not to measure how well resettlement has happened but went further to explore the presence or lack of emancipatory mechanisms in the way resettlement is executed in New Zealand.

Research guided by Critical Theory views society as being oppressive and conflicting. Therefore it aims for radical change and emancipation of the

vulnerable groups through their own action or advocacy by the researcher with collaboration from participants of the research (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). This type of research was applicable when working with the quota refugee group as it is “ideological, have empowering and democratizing goals” (Marshall and Rossman, p.4) that can help the refugee participants to challenge the current forms of resettlement and come up with suggestions on how this can be done in a manner which is more empowering compared to the welfaristic approach.

Semi structured interviews and focus group discussions were the primary modes of data collection. During the course of research there came a point of data saturation or redundancy after the 16th interview, when no new information was coming out. Interviewing was then halted (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Patton, 1990).

Methods of Data Collection

Data was collected through semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and a critical review of documents from government and NGOs relating to refugee resettlement. Semi-structured interviews were used to provide guiding questions for in-depth interviews relating to the perception of refugees of the extent to which the resettlement process had empowered them or not. The process of the interview allowed the perspectives of the participants to come out as the interviews progressed (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). Semi-structured interviews were preferred as they can be used to receive and to give information. They are carried out using a fairly open framework that allows the interviewee to feel confident enough to provide information and for the interviewer to follow up with probing questions on interesting ideas that come up during the interview (Case, Grove and Apted, 1990). In this research the concept of empowerment was not easy to explain to some informants. I had to define this in a non-influential way, and provide a few hints on what empowerment could be so that they could be clear enough to relate the concept of empowerment to their resettlement journey.

Semi-structured interviews are useful in that they encourage two way communications, are less intrusive to the interviewees, and allow them to talk freely about what they know on a particular subject (Kvale, 1996).

Individual interviews were carried out with 16 participants from quota refugee backgrounds 11 men and 5 women. Two focus groups were held (one for women and 1 for men) from the Auckland region. Interviews were also carried out with personnel from organisations providing direct service to quota refugees in Auckland, including individuals from two government departments, two non-government organisations, one education provider and three community organisations providing services to people from refugee backgrounds. Only one Wellington organisation was included even though their programmes and influence touch refugees in all parts of New Zealand. Participants were informed of the purpose of the research through information sheets and voluntary participation was obtained when participants signed the consent form.

Semi-structured interviews were used to provide guiding questions for in-depth interviews relating to the perceptions of refugees regarding the extent to which the resettlement process had empowered them or not. The process of the interview acknowledged that the views of the participants were valuable and allowed the perspectives of participants to unfold as the interview progressed, enabling them to further understand the purpose of the study (Marshall and Rossman, 1999).

Focus group discussions were carried out to enable participants to shape their views as a group (Neuman, 2006), and work together to highlight issues pertinent to empowerment processes during resettlement. Marshall and Rossman reiterate that people's views and how they perceive ideas are shaped when they dialogue with other people. Focus groups therefore allowed for an informal setting where participants could work together to jog memories and help each other talk about the topic. The use of focus groups for this study allowed for generation of much information in a short space of time.

Participants were identified by going through community leaders of the established community organisations in New Zealand (Marshall and Rossman 1999). Going through community leaders garnered support and helped build trust and established a relationship among the community leaders and their members. This was a process of acknowledging their information power base and making them partners in the research, whereby they were positioned to influence their members to be part of the research (Chile, 2007). Community leaders were consulted in the early stages of project design, to get their input regarding the relevance of the study as well as their support to assist with identifying of prospective participants to the research. Because the research was focused on quota refugees who had been living in New Zealand for the past 10 years and who were able to communicate in English, purposeful and snowball sampling was used to identify participants. Community leaders were used to provide initial contacts and an invitation to participate was sent out to all those who met the criteria. Out of the identified population, random sampling was done to select the 16 participants, bearing in mind the balance of gender. Stratified purposeful sampling was done to achieve this balance (Marshall and Rossman, 1999).

A critical review was also carried out of documents from government, NGOs and other relevant organisations working together to provide services to incoming refugees, to examine how the resettlement processes were underpinned by empowerment. Documents for review were sourced off the website and from government, NGOs and other relevant community organisations working on refugee resettlement and well-being. This method was unobtrusive (Marshall and Rossman, 1999), and allowed me to review the context of quota refugee resettlement in New Zealand and relate it to the current discussions from the interviews.

Data Collection

Interviews, both individual and focus groups, were recorded using a digital audio recorder and then transcribed. As the interviews were being done, individual participants, service providers and focus groups were assigned codes in order to adhere to the ethics code of anonymity. Data analysis was concurrent with data collection to allow flexibility to address more pertinent questions that evolved as the research began to take shape and meaning. This was achieved by talking with different groups in the refugee community and with service providers. Data saturation occurred after the 16th interview even though the perception of empowerment varied greatly among the participants, with no new information coming up.

During the process of data collection and analysis it was important to extract or determine whether empowerment (if at all it was there) led to better integration for quota refugees.

In this qualitative study I was the main instrument of research (Marshall and Rossman, 1999), and therefore I worked closely with supervisors to obtain as much guidance and training on matters of facilitation, maintaining neutrality during interviews and respect for the participants' views and values. As the primary instrument for gathering data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) I therefore acted with diligence in carrying out semi-structured interviews that helped me to keep on track with my research topic. Semi-structured interviews were used to guide data collection as these allowed the respondents to provide all the content of the interview as well as structuring and defining the problem. Lincoln and Guba argue that this form of non-standardised interviews supports the purposes of naturalistic research. Qualitative data was in the form of transcripts of the interviews and a digital recorder was used during the course of the interviews, while notes were taken of the "nonverbal cues, which pertain to nonverbal communications" (Lincoln and Guba, p. 276).

Major points were noted during discussions and I did preliminary summaries after each interview. Transcribed notes were made available to participants to verify before data analysis with the option to respond if they needed to change anything, or not to respond if there were no corrections to be made. The observation was that all organisations corrected and verified their interviews except for one, while individual participants tended to say the transcript was okay or they would not respond. Affirmations with no corrections were obtained from 14 participants.

After the report is produced notes will be kept by the Auckland University of Technology in their store room under lock and key for up to 6 years for reference and security purposes.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was concurrent with data collection. Notes and summaries formed the initial stages of data analysis. This strategy of data analysis enabled me to further develop and understand the topic as data collection progressed and allowed for identification of patterns, classes and their characteristics (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973).

The process of organising data followed the six stages as elaborated by Marshall and Rossman (1999) as follows:

- a) The first stage of analysis at the end of data collection was organising data. This was done by reading through the transcripts over and over to understand them and to begin to reduce them into readable formats. Miles and Huberman (1994) describe this process as organising the data in a compact form that allows the researcher to capture all important information without only highlighting the interesting, vivid events. The process of organising the data was done by use of colour coding.
- b) The second stage was generating categories, patterns and themes which came out from continued immersion in the data. Identification

of these categories became 'baskets' into which information was placed. In forming the categories, themes and patterns were drawn, emanating from the participants' perspectives through use of language or the 'analyst's perspective but "grounded in the data but not necessarily used explicitly by participants" (Paton (1990) as cited by Marshall and Rossman, 1999, p. 154).

- c) The third stage was coding the data, which Marshall and Rossman describe as "formal representation of analytical thinking" (p. 155). At this stage the different themes, patterns and categories were given codes that identified them for further analysis. The process of coding generated more themes as further understanding of the data was achieved. Coding was in the form of use of different colours or text codes to identify similar patterns within the text.
- d) The fourth stage of data analysis was testing emergent understandings (positive and negative), in relation to the research questions being explored. I looked for any similar and contrasting patterns and fitted them into the general discussion as necessary.
- e) The fifth stage was searching for alternative explanations for patterns that were apparent in the study and presenting an argument that linked the patterns to previous research. In doing this I presented the most conceivable explanation of the findings; that is, one that "offers assertions about the data, provides substantial evidence for those assertions, and builds a logical interrelationship among them" (Marshall and Rossman, 1999, p. 157), and related assertions to future research.
- f) The final stage was report writing where I interpreted the information and gave meaning and shape to the full collection of data.

The method of qualitative data analysis described above is appropriate for subjective data, is complex and focuses on deriving meaning out of peoples' lived experiences. Talking to a number of people and finding similar patterns

and themes enables understanding of a particular phenomenon from those people in their circumstances. How refugees perceive their resettlement journey and how this can be improved cannot be measured in figures. Otherwise the information will be skewed (Higgs, 1997).

Major themes that emerged from the study were:

1. Education system
2. English language support
3. Welfare support
4. Employment opportunities and support
5. Career guidance and follow up
6. Family reunification
7. Settlement planning
8. Community education
9. Community self support
10. Collaboration of service providers

These themes are not in order of significance but are listed as they evolved from the data analysis.

In order to maintain anonymity of research participants, individual participants were coded IP and listed one to 16. Participants from service provider organisation were coded SPP and were listed one to six. Focus groups were coded FG and were listed one and two.

Limitations of the Study

Government departments and organisations that are funded by government to resettle refugees and to work with refugees found it a challenge to talk about their service delivery strategies and challenges that they faced, as well as to provide suggestions on how the programmes could be improved. This was observed from the corrections made on the initial interviews both to present accurate facts and for political correctness. However in all the service

organisations, I managed to speak to people who were directly involved with the resettlement process which is more relevant.

The process of identifying research participants and constituting focus groups required extra consideration and effort. A lot of research has been carried out on the refugee community and there seemed to be research fatigue as the people have not seen any meaningful response to address the many issues that they have raised in the past. My research was different in the sense that there was a view among the refugee community that no research of this kind had been carried out before in New Zealand and thus they were eager to participate and contribute their thoughts on the empowerment process of resettlement.

As a practitioner with prior experience and interactions with organisations promoting services to refugees and also as a first time researcher, the point of view that I have and reference to the work I do on a daily basis may have interfered with maintaining a neutral position in facilitating group discussions and conducting semi structured interviews. A conscious effort was made to maintain a neutral position in order to get the communities and individuals to do most of the talking (Marshall and Rossman 1999).

Interviews were carried out with individual informants from Auckland City with the exception of one organisation based in Wellington. The application of the findings may be limited in the scope of challenges found within the different regions. However contributions made by the informants pointed to areas or gaps that lead to disempowerment and this can be applicable to the process of resettlement with some adjustments to suit different regions.

This chapter presented the research participants as important owners of information that researchers go out to explore. The chapter looked at various methods of research and then went on to describe the research participants, the recruitment process and the benefits of research which informed the methodology, justifying qualitative research methods and methods of data collection. The chapter ends with the data analysis, outlining the major findings and limitations of the study. The next chapter discusses the refugee

resettlement programme of New Zealand and lays a foundation for an evaluation from an empowerment perspective.

Chapter Five

Refugee Resettlement Programmes in New Zealand

Quota Refugee Resettlement Process

This chapter discusses the current refugee resettlement programmes in New Zealand. Because of the unavailability of literature that evaluates programmes, some quotations from the research participants were used to describe the situation on the ground. Rather than look at services within organisations, the chapter considers programmes topically.

It is important to note that refugee resettlement in New Zealand has undergone significant change over the past forty years. Refugee Services the main organisation responsible for resettlement of refugees has been in existence since 1976 and within the last ten years, since 2002 other services organisations have been established to support refugees. Examples of these include Settlement Support New Zealand (a nationwide Government funded support programme), Migrant Resource Centres in Auckland, Christchurch and Hamilton and community organisations established by former refugees themselves to address unmet needs in their communities. This is echoed by participants and is reported in Chapter Five and Chapter Six of this thesis. Participants in this study therefore acknowledge that those refugees who are arriving in New Zealand now have more access to information and services but the challenge still remains the lack of comprehensive support for these organisations that are providing support to refugees, with some being under funded or not funded at all. This affects the quality of service they can provide.

When quota refugees arrive in New Zealand, they are granted permanent resident status and are eligible to apply for citizenship after five years of continuous living in New Zealand. This means that from the time that refugees arrive at Mangere Refugee Reception Centre, programmes are made available

that aim to equip the new arrivals with knowledge of their rights and responsibilities so that when they go into the community, they behave like ordinary New Zealanders. The UNHCR New Zealand Country Chapter states that:

Persons accepted for resettlement to New Zealand under the Refugee Quota Programme are granted a permanent residence permit on arrival. As New Zealand permanent residents, they are entitled to live in New Zealand permanently and enjoy similar rights to New Zealand citizens in terms of access to education, health care, employment and social welfare (UNHCR New Zealand Chapter, 2002, p. 7).

However given the diversity of environments, cultures, life experiences, religions and expectations of the refugees, this exercise is complex. It calls for organisations providing support services to quota refugees to tailor programmes in response to refugee situations so they are able to provide services that have empowering outcomes and are responsive to the needs of refugees. The volume of information from different organisations covering different subjects makes it difficult for refugees who have only just arrived in the country to absorb and remember much of it when they move into the community. Other more immediate adaptation needs interfere with their ability to cope.

A number of non-government organisations are involved in the resettlement of refugees either at the point of entry into New Zealand or when they are settled in the community. Refugee Services Aotearoa New Zealand is the main agency contracted by Department of Labour to receive and work with refugees during their first six weeks at the Mangere Refugee Reception Centre and up to 12 months when they are out in the community. Other organisations such as English Language Partners (ELP), Auckland Regional Migrant Services (ARMS), CAB Language Link, Refugees as Survivors (RAS), Refugee Council, Refugee Coalitions, National Refugee Resettlement Network, Change Makers' Forum and initiatives such as the Settlement Support Initiative work to provide support to refugees in the community.

During the six weeks at Mangere Refugee Reception Centre, Refugee Services Aotearoa New Zealand is responsible in consultation with other NGOs in the

community and relevant government departments to organise housing, health screening, English lessons, general orientation to live in New Zealand and organisation of volunteers to work with the refugees in their resettlement process in the community (Ministry of Health, 2001). The coordinated support by Refugee Services Aotearoa used to be 6 months but now the main funder of the programme the Department of Labour would like to see the period of support extended to 15 months (SPP, 4). The Pathways programme launched by Refugee Services in 2010 provides each individual refugee with a plan for employment and a plan for general life and aspirations (SPP, 4). This information is contained in a folder that each refugee takes with them at the end of their orientation programme to inform other service providers of what services have been provided to the refugee and what could be the next steps of support. While this initiative is meant to empower refugees in terms of giving them authority to share their information, participants in this study could not make comments on the plans since they did not go through this process.

Government departments such as the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, and Department of Social Development work with refugees to ensure they settle as quickly as possible. These are mentioned as lead agencies for specific actions in the New Zealand Settlement Strategy and Settlement National Action Plan. The Department of Labour is the main agency dealing with strategic immigration issues, selection of refugees from their countries of asylum, transportation and purchasing of settlement contracts with organisations such as Refugee Services Aotearoa, Auckland Regional Migrant Services, Citizens Advice Bureaus, to name a few, to ensure effective settlement outcomes are achieved.

English Language Support

At the Mangere Refugee Reception Centre, Auckland University of Technology (AUT) provides English Language proficiency assessments and English Language classes through what is known as the 'on arrival

education/orientation programme'(SPP, 2-1). This programme is multifaceted, providing English language support to enable incoming refugees to be able to communicate with the rest of the community after leaving Mangere Refugee Reception Centre, as well as the Bilingual Orientation programme which aims to relay important information about life in New Zealand such as service providers and socio/cultural practices. Interpreters are used for individuals and families that have challenges with the English Language so that they understand the basics of life in New Zealand while they are still learning the language. Most research participants remembered the English language classes at Mangere but commented that the time for learning English was not enough especially for women who found that in the community, the priority for them was to take care of children at home while the opportunity to study English first lay with men. To some extent, the women valued English language lessons they got at the camp as this provided a hassle free opportunity to learn in an environment while their children were being taken care of (FG 2). Even though similar opportunities are present in the community such as the Selwyn programme in St Johns and the Safari Playgroup run under the umbrella of Auckland Regional Migrant Services, these services do not cater for the needs of all the refugee women.

When refugees move to the community, it is their responsibility with support from the volunteers and social workers to find institutions where they can learn English. In the community, tertiary institutions like the AUT, Auckland University, Manukau Institute of Technology and UNITEC are some of the many providers of English Language classes for speakers of other languages.

Provision of English language support especially to women shows a lot of gaps with women lagging behind the socialization and integration pace of their children and husbands (Department of Labour, 2004). English Language Partners (ELP) addresses many of the gaps by providing home tutoring and English language classes in the community where the people are. Many refugee families and individuals benefit from this service. The lack of

progress in terms of learning English deprives refugees of the opportunity to fully integrate into New Zealand society and enjoy their basic human rights.

Three assessments of the on arrival education programme carried out by McDermott and Liev (1991; 1994 and McDermott, 1997) reveal the significance of refugees being proficient in the English language in terms of their integration within the community. The reports point to the lack of access to various services within the community, dependency on other members of the community and a sense of powerlessness due to lack of English language proficiency. The reports identify the importance of knowing the language of New Zealand and yet also point to the gaps that are there between the Mangere Refugee Reception Centre and life in the community. This disjointed approach leaves most refugees despondent as they have to cope with the inadequacy of the resettlement grants and benefits, the waiting lists within different English language providers, managing child care for those with children and the inability to negotiate their way through due to inadequate English. McDermott and Liev (1997) report that Somali women interviewed about their support at the Mangere Refugee Reception Centre pointed out that the six weeks that they are allowed at the centre is not enough for them to master the English language and does not provide the generally recommended period of two years for them to be competent in English.

The community education classes which were funded through the Tertiary Education Commission continued to receive funding cuts from 2009 through to the start of 2011. These classes to a great extent benefitted refugees who would have failed to make it through the standard education classes by teaching them English through other activities such as cooking. The reduced funding continues to deprive those refugees who could learn the English language through participating in other learning environments such as cooking and crafts. Two local media channels reported:

One school has cut 75 per cent of existing students from its lowest class and refused enrolment to students who are unlikely to learn enough English within a year (Chipp, December, 17, 2009; <http://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion->

post/news/local-papers/the-wellingtonian/3167738/Funding-cuts-hurt-refugees).

Many of these schools ran literacy and numeracy courses which provided people with the core skills needed to get back into the job market or move on to further tertiary training. They provided a non-threatening way of re-engaging with the education system (Shearer, November 7, 2011; <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA1111/S00122/ace-cuts-come-home-to-roost.htm>).

In both these situations of funding cuts, other New Zealanders were affected but arguably it is the refugees who suffered the worst loss considering their backgrounds and multiple challenges.

Economic Participation/Income

New Zealand accepts refugees who fall under the most vulnerable categories of women at risk, medical/disabled and those requiring priority protection. These categories present a lot of challenges in terms of learning the English language and adapting to the New Zealand way of life. They require comprehensive support during the early stages of resettlement to ensure that refugees participate in the economic sector and earn their own income. Most refugees hope and desire to find work on arrival in the country of resettlement, as finding a job and being self-sustaining is a means to longer-term integration (UNHCR, 2009). Being employed means refugees can access income equal to the host population, facilitating other opportunities and aspirations such as health, education, goods, credit, identity, a socialisation and an opportunity to begin a career path (Charlaff, Ibrani, Lowe, Marsden and Turney, 2004). Research however shows that some refugees are employed in low paying, low level skill jobs, putting them in a position where they have to weigh up the benefit of working versus receiving government unemployment benefits (Higgins, 1999). Employment can be empowering and a means to successful integration, and is seen as a key indicator of resettlement (Department of Labour, 2004). Refugees' backgrounds and past traumatic experiences can sometimes hinder their ability to enter the workforce due to a lack of confidence and self-esteem. Other factors can be

absence of local work experience, lack of qualifications, and/or limited English language. Employers' lack of understanding of the background of refugees and the different cultures can be a barrier, making them hesitant to employ people they are not familiar with (Department of Labour).

From the time at Mangere Refugee Reception Centre refugees are supported to learn more about life in New Zealand and to learn the English language. The standard checks that refugees have to go through are time consuming, leaving not much time for employment and economic orientation. The orientation is focused more on organising refugees to receive a benefit and to live the life of a beneficiary, thereby learning powerlessness or continuing the phase of powerlessness from the refugee camps where they would have come from where they depended on hand outs and good will of the governments and humanitarian organisations in their countries of asylum. Refugees and service providers working at the centre such as Auckland University of Technology and Refugee Services Aotearoa New Zealand agree that the time at Mangere is not enough to cover all the things that could be covered during this orientation period.

After leaving Mangere refugees struggle in terms of finding work as many lack the English language, they look and sound different and employers are afraid to engage them as part of their work force. Participants in the study expressed their desire to find work and participate in the economy of the country but on the other hand the focus group expressed the lack of ground work being done to prepare refugees for work, and the lack of mechanisms to pathway them into the job market. One member in the focus group commended that:

There is no follow up. They (refugees) are just left on their own to do whatever they want to do...we've brought you to New Zealand, you've got a house, you've got a benefit, that's up to you....there is no proper orientation after that that can really help people, so that gaps are too many. Because there is no proper system, no one cares about what you have done in the past, what are your qualifications, what experience you have. They just bring you there and that's it. You're on your own

to do what you want to do. If you are going to engage, good on you, if you are going to sink, too bad (FGD CL 1).

The Ministry of Social Development employs migrant work brokers through Work and Income who work towards placing migrants and refugees into employment. There is a discrepancy in terms of getting refugees work ready and getting them into jobs. Participants in the study noted that refugees who are brought into New Zealand on humanitarian grounds with the highest level of need cannot be expected to suit the job market just by going through six weeks of orientation at Mangere.

Non-Government Organisations such as Auckland Regional Migrant Services (ARMS), Migrant Action Trust and community organisations that are ethnic based have identified the gaps and initiated programmes to support refugees into employment. A major challenge that these organisations face is funding which is always not adequate to address the identified needs. In an effort to reach the refugee community, ARMS implemented the Refugee Employment Action Now (REACTNOW) programme with the specific purpose of supporting refugees into employment through training, mentoring and placement (ARMS, 2007; <http://www.arms-mrc.org.nz/ReactNow.aspx>). However the programme has been phased out due to the following reasons: i) the mis-match between the employment outcomes that funders were expecting and the reality of the job market meant that meeting the targets was not going to be achieved and ii) the mismatch between what the programme offered and the refugees' high expectation of a guaranteed job.

The Auckland Refugee Community Coalition which is a network of community leaders from various refugee communities has been a voice for these communities, raising these issues with the relevant authorities, and providing suggestions on what could work for the refugee community (Auckland Refugee Community Coalition, 2011; <http://aucklandrefugee.cloud.space4sites.com/about-us/>).

Refugees come out of refugee camps with the hope of finding work as this is an act of restoration of their pride. They therefore view the system of welfare as a short term solution while mechanisms are put in place to support them into employment. One participant reiterated that:

Where we come from, we've got some kind of pride and we're used to living out of sweat you know. You work you eat. That's how we're used to. And you come here you are sitting...you are doing nothing....you lose your value, your passion as human being....apart from that, you go to Work and Income, the treatment that you receive is...you lose your dignity. That's really what caused the depression (IP CL, 3).

Well-meaning organisations are doing the best they can, given the resource availability. The reality however is that refugees still feel left out on their own in terms of empowerment for economic participation in New Zealand and as a result they struggle to obtain and keep jobs. This is confirmed by the Refugee Voices report that states that in 2004 the main source of income for 78% of established refugees (this being those who have lived in New Zealand for more than five years) was the government benefit while 19% had wages as their source of income (Department of Labour, 2004, p. 255). The preliminary report on the findings of the longitudinal survey Quota Refugees Ten Year On reports that after 10 years in New Zealand, 51% of settled refugees were on a benefit while 27% relied on salaries (Searle, Gruner & Duke, 2011, p 11).

Projects implemented on the ground (such as orientation workshops) usually have major components of information provision to enable refugees and migrants find their way around settling in New Zealand. However when refugees leave MRRC, they face many challenges and only get to organisations like ARMS and other community organisations often after two years or more. There is no clear hand over process of quota refugees from Mangere into the community for continuity of support. The refugees have to find their way to organisations they believe can best assist them. They are supported by volunteers who act as community mentors for them. While community based organisations do what best they can to develop programmes that support refugees, the extent to which such programmes can

be fully empowering is often limited by the parameters laid out in the project outcomes. In many cases these are stipulated by the funding agencies, which community organisations depend on for programme funding.

Education

The process of education support starts at Mangere where Auckland University of Technology is contracted by the Ministry of Education to do the initial assessment of the education requirements for adults and children and produce a English language skills report for each refugee which they take on to either schools or institutions for furthering their education. The Ministry of Education provides support within schools for speakers of other languages through the Home School Partnership Scheme and Creating Pathways and Building Lives programmes (Department of Labour, 2007a). The Ministry of Education also employs refugee and migrant coordinators who work with schools and other service provides within the sector to address the special needs of refugee children (SPP, 1). These Refugee Education Coordinators are based in Ministry of Education regional offices in Christchurch, Wellington, Hamilton and Auckland. Most of these coordinators are from refugee backgrounds. The coordinators liaise with schools, refugee communities, and agencies regarding educational and resettlement outcomes. Their role is to provide information and assist with the enrolment, placement and adjustment of refugee students into schools (Ministry of Education, 2010). They may also provide information on refugee education and ongoing support to schools and liaise with families and community groups. The Refugee Education Coordinators may also assist schools to work with Group Special Education, in cases where specialist advice and assistance is required for students who have high and complex needs (Ministry of Education).

The Ministry of Education website provides information relating to what is required for schools preparing to welcome refugees including strategies and practical examples of how to welcome new students from refugee background. The English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) Refugee

Education policy (October 2010) provides for 5 years of English language support for each student. During the first 2 years more intensive support is provided, followed by 3 years of standard ESOL funding as per the entitlement for eligible Non English Speaking Background (NESB) students. The funding policy refers to students at both primary and secondary level. The level of success of this programme measured by the level of satisfaction of the beneficiaries of this service could not be established from the literature review. The level of involvement of the refugee community in the design and implementation methodology of this programme also could not be ascertained from the document reviews.

A participant in this study when asked whether there was an opportunity at any time for Refugee Coordinators to talk to the refugee children themselves to find out how they were coping within the school system, stated that:

The Coordinators don't often do that sort of one-to-one discussion with the students, and for a good reason. But there might be times where we might just be visiting a homework programme and then that's sort of informal chatting may happen naturally but we do trust teachers in the school that they will be doing the best they can for the students (SPP 1).

The refugee community on the other hand sees a lot of gaps and youth falling through these gaps as far as education is concerned (Department of Labour, 2004; Searle, Gruner and Duke, 2011). They talk of the problem being with the system of placement in classes where a 15 year old who has grown up in a camp and has never been to school is placed with year 11 New Zealand students when they are still struggling with the English language. In these situations the refugee students stands out because they look different, sound different and they may act differently because they are not used to the education systems in New Zealand.

One service provider research participant pointed out that:

The most important thing for a teenager is belonging and not sticking out otherwise its social suicide potentially (SPP 9).

Another service provider also noted that:

Here we know that children should be with their peer group, with their age groups just for that social development and that's why we have these extra services and provisions to make sure that they catch up (SPP 1).

Participants in the study on the contrary see the service provided in the school (especially bilingual tutors) being there to support the teachers and the school with less emphasis on supporting the student. A participant in a focus group stated that:

Usually, you know, they cannot cope because of language problem. They cannot cope with (other services?) The Government at the beginning start to employ bilingual tutors; they train them once, only I think once they train and they start to support the students...but after that they completely...I don't know what happened. Since they started the Head of Department approves somebody who simply speaks the language; not the one who can help him or her at some stage; not a person who can support the students with homework or after class; the subject that a student will need to understand. They simply approve a person who speaks the language. So these people cannot support the students. They simply help the Head of Department (FGD CL 1).

When the children stick out because they are not able to speak the language and they have no social networks at school, they get frustrated and they drop out as was highlighted by a member of a focus group discussion:

Most of our young people; they use, where are they....they are somewhere without jobs, somewhere without education, drop-outs; that's one area we need to work with the Government (FGD CL 1).

The refugee community organisations such as Refugees as Survivors and others who wish not to be named have initiated programmes to deal with the issues of youth, to support them into meaningful activities leading to employment. Mixit, a youth project which is supported by the Fledgling Trust, runs arts and creativity sessions for youth which aim to empower them.

Health

The Ministry of Health through the Auckland Regional Public Health Service (ARPHS) offers comprehensive health screening at the Mangere Refugee Reception Centre. When refugees move for resettlement in the community, they take their health folders to enroll in the public health system (Ministry of Health, 2001.) This screening has two objectives: to provide a general health check (considering that New Zealand admits the most vulnerable group), and to serve as a form of quarantine to identify, contain and manage contagious infections. This system of screening, treatment and referral is in place to deal with the varying health needs of refugees as they come into the country and settle into communities across New Zealand.

While at Mangere, refugees also undergo mental health checks carried out at the medical centre. Staff of all agencies at the centre such as Auckland University of Technology, Refugees As Survivors and Refugee Services Aotearoa New Zealand are trained to identify people showing signs of mental unwellness, and these people are referred to specialist services within Refugees As Survivors. This was echoed by a participant in the study who stated that:

Or when they are in the Centre, the medical centre in the Centre...if they notice someone in the intake needs help – mental health help and support – they will refer to us. AUT is in the Centre. They will, if they notice something, they can refer to us. Also Immigration, if they find out something is not going well with this family; they will refer to us as well (SPP 6).

The study participant (SPP 6) also observed that when refugees move from a war zone into a safe place and the initial stresses of wanting to be safe are over, other underlying mental issues begin to manifest. While the mental health screening process has benefited some clients, others feel that the challenges that the refugees face as they settle into the community are major stressors and aggravators of mental health issues. One participant said:

You get a doctor and you put him there to be doing cleaning jobs and tomorrow he becomes mentally sick and he's got nothing else to do in the society but depend on the Government for the rest of his life (FGD CL, 1).

So the emphasis of resettlement should be more about giving incoming refugees hope and working on their strengths and resilience in order to get them moving on a pathway to achieve their hopes and dreams.

A Handbook for Health Professionals was produced by the Ministry of Health in 2001 to assist professionals in the health sector adopt more culturally appropriate approaches when dealing with people from refugee backgrounds. The Handbook is one of several resources for health professionals, to providing information on cultural and ethnic backgrounds of the main refugee groups coming into New Zealand, and guiding health professionals on how to conduct culturally sensitive consultations with effective use of interpreters. The whole package of resources to support the migrant community as well as refugees is termed Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Resource (CALD).

In an effort to provide up to date information on refugee health issues, the Auckland Regional Public Health Service (ARPHS) hosts the New Zealand Refugee Health Website - www.refugeehealth.govt.nz where information is available in major refugee languages in New Zealand. The website contains international information and profiles health related projects around New Zealand. The challenge with this information is that it is accessible only to those who have access to computers either in their homes or at public places. The most vulnerable group among the refugee community who are women may miss out on the information that is supposed to be of benefit to them because they may have literacy issues.

The Counties Manukau District Health Board (CMDHB) has introduced a free interpreting service for use by the hospitals and general practitioners, while the Auckland District Health Board provides an interpretation service for a minimal fee (Counties Manukau DHB, 2010). The use of interpreters has its own challenges among smaller minority groups where information is found

to be filtering back to the community from the doctors' offices. Some members of the community then avoid consulting doctors for fear they will become the talk of their community. One participant observed that:

These interpreters need a very good education in order to provide a good service to migrants, refugees.... Confidentially... but we end up hearing a lot of stories on people, which are coming from interpreter's mouth. They should keep those kinds of issues in the hospital not taking them out (IP 7).

Community awareness and education networks such as The Asian Network Incorporated and ethno-focused departments within DHBs have been established to deal with migrant and refugee groups to raise awareness about healthy eating, health screening and self-care.

Participants in the study were happy with health service provision even though the health status of refugees (mostly women) tends to deteriorate post-Mangere due to pressures such as lack of jobs, family conflicts and culture clashes between children and parents (Department of Labour, 2004). One member of the focus group summed it by saying they are not coping due to the overwhelming nature of demands when one leaves the comparative comforts of Mangere for real life situations. He affirmed that:

For some it's financial problems, some it's the different culture. Even they don't know how to use technology and some of them come from the forest so there's a lot of things not fulfilled and some of them we struggle with, when we come; we can't cope with (FGD CL 1).

In the community refugees use the mainstream General Practice system as well as mental health systems, while Refugees as Survivors has a mobile clinical team and a Community Network Health Promotion programme, providing services to people from refugee backgrounds.

Development of Social Networks

The Ministry of Social Development is responsible for organising the social welfare benefits including the refugees' re-establishment grants and coordinating the Settling-In programme through the Family and Community

Services department (FACS), to support refugee integration in the community (Ministry of Health, 2001).

Settling In is an initiative for refugees and new migrants, which came about as a response to unmet needs identified by the refugee and migrant community which were hindering their settlement outcomes. The Ministry of Social Development (MSD) through its Family and Community Services group, implements the project, which aims to meet identified needs and to build knowledge and capacity within community organizations. The aim of the Settling In initiative is that it should be the expectation of every newcomer to be able to enjoy the same services, quality of life and standard of living outcomes as those of the host community, rather than considering themselves 'lucky' to be able to access such things.

Settling In has evolved and established in its own way in the different regions to meet local needs but there are three goals that are commonly shared among the eleven regions. These are: collaboration, social inclusion, capacity and capability building for the refugee and migrant community and the organisations providing services to this sector (Ministry of Social Development, 2009).

An evaluation of the Settling In initiative in 2009 provided insights into the successes and challenges that the initiative has faced. The report states that the initiative emphasises empowerment, strengthening and support, and places refugees and migrants at the centre of all processes, which is reflected in the idea of "nothing about us is without us" (Ministry of Social Development, 2009, p. 4). This statement has been adopted by The ChangeMakers Refugee Forum, a network of refugee community organisations in Wellington. The Settling In evaluation report goes on to state that "If ethnic communities are not involved in the development of policies and services, they are denied the right to participate fully in New Zealand society and the wider community is denied the benefits that diversity can bring to our society" (Ministry of Social Development, 2009, p. 4). The report

recommends community conversation rather than consultation to gain meaningful input in development processes with refugee communities.

Settling In promotes a strengths-based approach to engagement which is rights-based rather than a welfare-based approach in contrast to Work and Income which is more welfare based. What is of interest is the apparent lack of connection or collaboration between these units on how policy is established, generated and implemented through all the departments to ensure that communities are strengthened.

In each region a Settling In Co-coordinator is employed who works directly with members of migrant and refugee communities to facilitate them finding solutions to their own needs, and also works as an intermediary between these communities and the wider host community. The task of the coordinator is a big one, considering that one officer covers a large geographical area. The extent to which all the people in need can be reached when they need support becomes questionable, and so is the ability to connect these communities with other service providers in the area. This is one of the main Government funded initiatives that talks a lot about community empowerment and strength-based approaches to community development. As a result of Settling In input within the community, the Auckland Refugee Community Coalition and ChangeMakers Refugee Forum were established.

Community Building and who is Involved

New Zealand formally began to accept quota refugees in 1987, but refugees had been admitted into New Zealand since the 1940s. Lack of support prior to 1987 and inadequate support post 1987 prompted those refugees who had come in earlier to establish ethnic based groups to provide support for their members as they were coming in. Gruner and Searle (2011) identify the current strength of refugee community organisations as bringing to the fore refugee voices, moving them from being “passive recipients of services... to

agents of change, representing themselves rather than being spoken on behalf of by others" (p. v).

Refugee Resettlement in a Community Development

Context

It is important to have a clear definition of what a community is. People from a refugee background can be described as a community. A community can be defined by "geographical or physical location, socio-cultural issues such as heritage, common experiences or common visions, values and expectations" (Chile, 2007 p. 22). Chile goes on to argue that when members within a community identify with each other in terms of their identity, they have a sense of belonging, and they engage and interact within the context of their community.

Crothers (2007) describes a community as "a mosaic of individual, households (or family) and community 'needs' to which firms, government institutions and organisations deploy services to meet identified needs" (p. 271). One could argue that the definition by Chile (2007) looks at a community in relation to people and their aspirations, while the definition by Crothers (2007) views community as a source of needs that require service providers to come in and meet those needs. Differing interpretations of the definition of a community may lead service organisations to design community development initiatives which may be empowering or disempowering to the community.

Crothers (2007) further states that "community development operates within defined contexts and is concerned with leveraging external resources with those of local communities to provide the best possible outcomes" (Crothers, 2007, p. 272). Crothers acknowledges the impact that broader community patterns have on the immediate or local community and the need for community workers to be fully aware of these and possess analytical skills to enable them to map the local community needs, available community

resources, changes and variations to community resource inflow as they are provided by outside funders and service providers. Chile, Elliot, Liev and Tito (2007) point to a community development approach when working with refugees during the early stages of resettlement as one that “requires skills, knowledge and competencies in areas such as understanding of the relevant, different and continually evolving government policies”(p. 255). Hancock, Chilcott and Epston (2007) see a community development approach being one that “privileges ‘inside’ community knowledge over ‘outside’ expert knowledge on the basis that such ‘insider’ knowledge can predict what development strategies are likely to succeed or, alternatively, are destined to languish” (p. 118). They argue that outside consultants are required to -:

- Enter the community looking through the community’s eyes of hope and optimism,
- Collaborate with local practitioners (as well as create links to other concerned stakeholders) willing to promote community interests,
- Co-research and act according to community knowledge, both historical and prospective and
- Implement community consultation practices and other initiatives that recognise and respect local ways of doing things (Hancock, Chilcott & Epston 2007, p. 118).

Simon (1994) affirms the argument by Hancock et al. (2007) by acknowledging that practitioners who believe that environments in which programmes take place can be transformed and who believe that people can change for the better, are able to work in an empowerment based framework aiming for sustainability of empowerment processes.

Within the descriptions of community and the ways of interacting with the community in a community development context, the question that arises is whether these definitions of community and the community development parameters would apply to the refugee resettlement processes for refugee communities in New Zealand.

Refugees who come to New Zealand originate from various countries which have different cultures, religions and values. From 2001 - 2011, the highest source countries of refugees have been Iraq, Myanmar, Eritrea, Bhutan, Afghanistan, Iran, Republic of Congo, Burundi, Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia (New Zealand Immigration Service Website, 2010). Refugees in New Zealand are therefore a complex group and present a challenge defining them as a community. Chile, Elliot, Liev and Tito, (2007, p. 257) also suggest that "refugees from the same country may not necessarily constitute a cohesive community, due to differences in religious beliefs, political affiliations and interests, ethnicities, occupational and socio-economic levels".

Refugee groups however identify themselves as a community because of their common experiences, although they may have different values and expectations due to other factors such as religion, culture, age and gender. Organisations that work closely with refugees can be instrumental in refugee community development working collaboratively with refugees to set priorities for settlement, develop initiatives that build refugee communities, develop refugee leaders, and enable refugees to actively engage in discussions pertaining to refugee resettlement. The vision of Refugee Services Aotearoa New Zealand for example is to support refugees to 'resettle, prosper and grow' focusing on the development of refugees, to ensure that they are "achieving their potential and contributing within an inclusive society" (Refugee Services website, para. 5).

Refugee Services suggest that the challenge they face in attaining these goals in refugee communities includes the limited resources.

I think it's an amazing sector to be in because people have that passion otherwise they don't stay in it. So you know they are united by the sense of wanting to see refugee communities succeed. But I think it (the resettlement programme) is starved of the Government funding it needs. I think the level of appropriate ESOL courses is atrocious. (SPP 4).

Other initiatives have helped build the capacity of refugee communities to strengthen their ability to participate in matters concerning their lives. As a

result refugee communities “have established ethnic incorporated societies, have learnt leadership and skill development, increased knowledge of host society mechanisms for engagement and advocacy” (Gruner and Searle, 2011, p. 11).

The establishment of refugee communities provides another layer of support whereby these communities are able to support other newly arriving refugees. Research participants suggested that newcomers are finding it a lot easier to settle because there are established communities who walk them through settling in New Zealand. Some participants commented specifically about the value of refugee community leaders:

They have a heart (community leaders); you see they have a heart to be a community leader so it's all about empowering them really to function (IP 13).

So as we are the first settlers of New Zealand, we didn't have that full support of communities but people who came after us because we have formed a community, we might have been helping (IP CL 9).

You know I've been involved with my community since up till now. We run projects in the community. The community has grown now (IP 10).

Refugee led community organisations have been established as a response to gaps and issues experienced by fellow refugees who are not settling well. They work with little or no funding and there are no structured mechanisms to identify and train these people in governance, accounting and leadership, the core requirements for them to run efficient and effective organisations in terms of fund acquisition and accountability. The community leaders do their work on a voluntary basis even though they are in a vulnerable state themselves. One community leader had this to say about his work in the community:

My problem has been that I didn't look at my issues a lot more than helping others. I always put my issues aside and kind of tried to help others, which is normal in the culture where I come from (IP CL 1).

The Department of Labour's National Immigration Settlement Strategy (2007b) launched in 2003 and revised in 2007 acknowledges that resettlement is a journey, a process that requires not only refugees to adapt and get used to their new home, but also places responsibilities upon New Zealanders to work together with refugees and migrants to achieve positive settlement outcomes. A report prepared by the Strategic Social Policy Group of the Ministry of Social Development (July 2008) states that:

Whether social cohesiveness is built, maintained, damaged or destroyed depends to a large extent on the people's interactions with each other and their attitudes towards each other, especially those they consider to be different from themselves. It is as much about host community responses to diverse newcomers as it is to newcomers adapting into the society they are moving into. Cohesive societies...promote the same opportunities for all and reduce social exclusion, both for migrant and host communities (p.116).

There is no mention of the word empower or empowerment in the national strategies. There is no mention of participation apart from participating in social activities, sports clubs, schools, parents' teachers associations (PTA) and others. The strategies mention that refugees and migrants need to be supported to access services that are available to all other New Zealanders. They are not specific about the needs of refugees and what initial investment would be required to ensure that they become sufficiently acquainted with the systems of this country for them to make a contribution economically and socially and not become social outcasts or spend all their lives on a benefit.

This chapter described the refugee resettlement programme in New Zealand and its various components. While describing the various components, an attempt was made to draw out some aspects of the programmes that are empowering or disempowering. Reference is also made to remarks made by participants in this study. The next chapter presents the findings of this study within the nine main themes that emerged during the course of the interviews and focus group discussions.

Chapter 6

Findings: What Makes Refugee Resettlement Programmes Empowering?

This chapter discusses the major findings of the study by presenting the perceptions of the participants regarding the key emerging themes. Interviews carried out with service providers and people from refugee backgrounds highlighted what could be considered empowering or disempowering activities. The findings of the study will be discussed from an empowerment perspective as stated in chapter three, a rights based perspective as stated in chapter one and under broad issues that the participants raised.

Examples of Empowerment Programmes

Development projects are often carried out in the name of empowerment but the actual measure is not very clear during and after implementation of the projects. Rowland (1995) advocates for empowerment programmes that continuously ask how planned interventions benefit the people whose lives are directly affected. Rowlands calls for the involvement of affected people in setting indicators of change that measure levels of empowerment. There is a need for service provider organisations to develop strategies to involve the refugee community in programme planning, implementing and measuring programme success. Generally service provision in New Zealand infers empowerment but do not include tools to measure empowerment outcomes. According to Callister (2007), special measures for vulnerable groups in New Zealand mainly focus on Maori and Pacifica. It can be argued that the refugee community is also a proportion of the vulnerable group and therefore would qualify for the special measures similar to those based on ethnicity or background.

Empowerment as a development concept fits within the Rights Based Approach to development. According to Boesen and Martin, (2007) and Rother (2008), development scenarios which are rights based are focused on the relationship between the duty bearer and the rights holder, with the rights holder (refugees), not having to earn their human rights but these should be accorded them.

Education

The Ministry of Education (MINEDU) has implemented a number of initiatives to meet the needs of refugee students such as provision of ESOL in schools, availability of bilingual liaison workers and employment of refugee coordinators. Refugee Coordinators are from, or expected to be familiar with refugee backgrounds. Support for refugee student within the schools, in terms of interaction with students to hear how far they benefit and what could be done to improve the programmes was limited. A participant in this research study commented that:

We ask for reports twice a year from schools that are funded for a refugee initiative through the flexible funding.....now the report is really one way of finding out what the funding has been used for and how the funding has been useful and we ask for a list of the students and we do ask for good quality information that will tell us that the funding has made a difference (SPP 1).

With no consultations with the users of the service, the quality or effectiveness of the service remains questionable in an environment where participants in the study highlighted that they lacked career guidance in schools and some parents were troubled that their children have fallen through the gaps due to inadequacy of support in the education system. The student placement system for example places children in classes according to their age, resulting in some students not coping and subsequently dropping out of school. One research participant in this study who took the initiative to set up homework groups to support his fellow refugees commented on placement of refugee children in classes:

Sometimes also we used to run, like, homework for students you know. One of the sad things...in New Zealand honestly, it's likerefugees come here and they say 'how old are you'? – You are 18, 17, and 16 and according to their age, they put their age group into the school. And that has been.....a setback for the refugee community because someone who doesn't speak English, doesn't have even basic maths, science and are put into year 12...11..or 10, I mean they can't communicate with these people and they're not on the same wavelength in terms of maths and physics (IP 12).

This participant also reported that many of these children dropped out of classes because of embarrassment and simply walked around the school yard. A system where teenagers who had never been to school can be natured through adult education methods could be of benefit to these children instead of placing them with their age mates where they feel out of place. Comments from a service provider research participant reiterated the difficulty students faced:

Sometimes it's actually hard for some of them to catch up because maybe the gap is so big. When we are talking of a 15 year old refugee starting high school for the first time.....just to start schooling at that level is very hard but then it wouldn't be good idea either to ask that person to start at primary and sit there in the middle of 5-7 year old children; that might not be the best interest for the child from a social and developmental point of view.....but it's just the system that we are dealing with and we will just have to make sure it can work for the refugee students (SPP 1).

Participants in the research mentioned that his system did not work for refugees.

Another participant in the study observed that:

Most of the young ones in here now, the ones I know, they start smoking drugs and alcohol and stuff like that; that makes me a bit sad, you know. But they could have been...helped if they were told that they could be somebody else (IP 13).

Another participant found no space for himself at school and he moved out. He said:

So that time I went straight to high school and I was an adult student and I think all in all maybe I lasted about a few terms at high school. I

felt that it didn't accommodate for my needs and I felt I wasn't, you know. I wasn't welcomed and understood really as a young refugee....not so pleasant experiences of New Zealand schooling, even though it was short but it wasn't very pleasant (IP 2).

One mother from the women's group reported that she was saddened by the fact that her teenage son came and was placed in High school. But because he had never gone to school before, he was writing like a baby and now he has gone beyond school going age and she says:

A ten year old boy and he didn't get a chance to go to school so when they came in the country I think it was at ... High School, they accepted him and now he's trying to (write like a baby?), so she's saying that they've stopped his benefit, saying that he has to go and find a job. How can he find a job when he can't... it's like pushing them to something, while they can't...not good (FGD 2).

The system of mainstream schooling even though logical and making sense for the locals requires some adjustments to suit the needs of refugee children and young people.

Beside the school-based issues that children and young people faced, research participants also identified social issues within the refugee community impacting on education. For example the breakdown of the functionality of the family system when families moved to New Zealand impacts on the lives of young people. The freedom to be independent created some confusion for young people who still belonged to a culture which has different expectations (Humpage, 2009). While the education system informs young people of the rights and the protection they have under New Zealand law, these conflicts with family morals and culture which hold families together in countries that refugees come from, result in conflict in the family. One research participant gave an example that:

The children need to be educated as well, that while the system is there to protect you but don't abuse it like we see at 10 years old because the teacher says if your father does this to you, call the Police. And the 10 year old will be coming and smoking and 'Dad, I want to say something - if you touch me I'm going to call the Police on you' and parents are becoming really powerless and depressed. As a result they have to

watch their children flushing their life down the toilet and there's a need to educate and empower those people in that sense (IP CL 3).

Research participants argued that education has to go with family values, enabling the parents to learn together with their children and supporting them the best way they can. It may not be academic support but family support and encouragement are important, and the education system needs to acknowledge this.

English Language Support

Most of the refugees admitted into New Zealand come from non-English speaking backgrounds. When they arrive in the country, it is important that they learn the English language. Some refugees have some level of English language proficiency, but most of them arrive with no English at all. Having been in a country of asylum for a number of years, refugees would have learnt the language of that country as well as their own, so English would sometimes be the 3rd, 4th or 5th language.

Participants acknowledged the need to learn English, but also expressed that where there were limited opportunities they had to find other means of learning. One participant explained how hard it was for her to learn English:

Just I go and find my own way...we had sponsor ...from the church and wanted to help us. But if you can't tell what you need... they can't read your mind, so they will ask and the only thing is nod your head but I couldn't understand what they say... so I find my own way to go (IP 14).

Many women find themselves in the same predicament where they lack the opportunity to learn English due to family commitments. A member of the women's group had this to say:

Life in New Zealand, we are limited for some things important in my life...because we don't have some people who can help us to show us how...if you have some problem...they can't do much because of language barrier...back home they grew stuff and sell them. They still want to do that while they are studying English... yeah it can take some stress out (FGD 2).

A male research participant who has also been a community worker for a long time had this to say about English support for women:

I believe that the main issue is language...if people learn the language and know how to use the system; it's easy for them to know about the system and society. Like mother being at home with small child; give them exemption for first year free child care to go and study... it costs \$1000, \$2000...but staying at home for a long time, it may in the end...costing more money than what they give as an exemption (IP 6).

For them it would be beneficial to learn English while doing something productive, rather than sit in a class and just focus on English.

If you are going to ESOL classes but as long as your mind is going and going, you can't even focus to learn English (FGD 2).

The concerns relating to English language support were not only about access but also the quality of the programmes. Participants believed that English being the foundation of life in New Zealand should be given more time. This particular participant explained that becoming proficient in English was central to empowerment:

I think empowerment for me is giving tools to somebody; tools that will help that person to survive. And that could have been done in terms of language; really having a good English programme - a programme that is coordinated. Because what we see now what is happening with all organisations now is to try to create some small programmes just to bring some more income for the organisation to survive. But those are not really helping and there is no coordination. And what is really hurting more is that it's the funders who are encouraging those kinds of things. This one has got a small programme of English course, that one...and no one is monitoring to see how helpful those programmes are being. I mean, what kind of impact are those programmes having to empower people? And that's really something that is a problem to me (IP CL 3).

Another participant also stressed that language is power:

Second thing is I would increase English language...because language is power. Without the English language we cannot do anything, so the first thing is to be positive....for refugees to stay positive. Resettlement starts right after they get their country. So, to assure them what is planned for them, English language shouldn't be a problem. We should...at least, you know, in terms of volunteer education but regular information;

regular English classes shouldn't be a problem. That is my main focus, to English, because if they study English, they would have an access to express themselves and to say what they want and to do what they even want (IP CL 9).

Participants observed that providing English language lessons to speakers of other languages had become a thriving business for many Private Tertiary Establishments (PTEs) with some people going through the training and not learning the language at all. During a focus group discussion, one member commented that:

NGO's want to survive, you know. You're going to see every group...almost all the groups are doing almost the same thing. This NGO has got an English course; they are teaching. That one has got an English course and that one has...and you're going to see...it's like in Wellington; in the same building there are about seven different groups working with refugees and out of seven, four of them are teaching English. You know, you go to this one and they've got four students and in the same family, this one goes to this class, the other one goes to classes (provided by?) Refugee Services and another one goes to....and that's four here, three there, seven here and you've got four different teachers who are being funded to do what they are doing (FGD CL 1).

Within the community, renowned institutions like AUT are fully booked and have a long waiting list meaning that not all refugees who desire to study at the institution can get in. Other PTEs have no mechanisms of tracking the learning progress of refugees and whether the English language training they are providing is helpful or not. As the men's focus group discussion noted, some refugees go through English language classes year after year so that their benefit is not terminated but they do not learn anything.

I was very, very sad when I came to some families who've lived here for more than 10 years but hardly couldn't speak any English and couldn't get a job because of the language problem. And when I asked them, they have been in Unitec or other colleges attending English language courses for six months, one year, two years, probably three years, even more, but that didn't take them anywhere. I can't name these people but for them the programmes are not working well. We all know that sometimes adults are attending English language courses because if they don't attend the benefit will stop but not only knowing ...to learn the language; that is another aspect. So I think it's really very important that

these programmes need to be reviewed; the language programmes (FGD CL 1).

The mechanisms of learning the English language need to be worked out so that they benefit the refugees and not be implemented to adhere to processes which demean refugees or disempower them.

Welfare Support

Work and Income New Zealand provides unemployment and other benefits to refugees and these are established as soon as refugees move from Mangere. In addition to the weekly financial support depending on the individual's circumstances, refugees get an establishment grant to enable them to buy furniture for the house, and to meet other establishment requirements.

While individual and focus group participants acknowledged the need for the benefit, they pointed out that it should only be for a short time while plans for individual resettlement are implemented to achieve outcomes that get one into meaningful employment. A participant who came to New Zealand as a youth said:

I really don't like the system (benefit) to be applied to young ones who are not doing anything (IP 13).

In agreement with this, a refugee led community group leader also said:

So it is like they're dropped after some time; there is no long-term plan for the refugees after six months. What are we going to do? Are we finding employment for them? I think when they are bringing a group of people, when they interview, they need to find what they can and what they.....and they need to put them under some training or some sort of employment to keep them....not giving just the dole money. That is a short-term benefit I would say. The dole is supposed to be like that; it needs to be a short-term (SPP 8).

Another participant mentioned that:

The benefit is not very good, not a very healthy way. It's all right sometimes as a human being, we need help and support but the little thing for a short while, 'I don't want people receiving the benefit and

saying this is my income'. It just supports but people must move from it as soon as possible (IP CL 11).

The idea of having the benefit for a short term means that other mechanisms need to be put in place to get refugees into employment. Crucial to rights based approaches to refugee assistance that are empowering and developmental is indentifying "a certain standard of treatment to which an individual refugee is entitled" (Posner and Clancy, (n.d.) p.1). They argue that it is an approach that treats individuals as active partners rather than as passive recipients and involves them in decision making processes and allows them to make choices about the mode and form of support that they require to meet their needs. Posner and Clancy give an example of a Liberian refugee community living in Guinea, whose members were deprived of their right to food by being given food which they were not familiar with and which they did not know how to prepare. From the perspective of a rights based approach, the service provider has the obligation to ensure that the basic human right of food is made available to recipient communities in a way which is accessible and appropriate for them. Rother (2008) describes the language of rights as one that talks of "entitlement, demand and empowerment" (p. 10).

The way the benefit system operates in the service offices is according to procedures that are developed at top levels of Work and Income, and officers working with clients have to implement these procedures according to the regulations. Giving money in times of hardship is acceptable. However prolonged welfare dependency has the potential to affect people's motivation and self esteem.

Participants in the study reported that they found the benefit system demeaning, and the way that officers at Work and Income treated them and the way the system works, took away their pride and the right to be good role models and providers for their families. One participant said:

I think for us as people, where we come from, we've got some kind of pride and we're used to living out of our sweat, you know? You work to eat. That's how we're used to. And you come here, you're sitting – first

of all, you're doing nothing and it becomes boring at some stage and you lose your value, your passion as a human being. And we've got children and we need to set a good example for them. And they see you doing nothing. They go to school and one day they ask 'the other children want...the teacher asked what does your father do?' 'Oh, he's a doctor or he's a lawyer, he's this....' And your child is there saying 'my father is....' What? Unemployed. And then they come home and say this is what we were talking about and I didn't know what to say. You know, it breaks your heart (IP CL 3).

Higgins (1999) argues that high dependency on welfare organisations (that are supposed to be providing support to refugees) is disempowering as the beneficiaries feel dehumanised, oppressed and humiliated. Another participant felt that his experience with Work and Income New Zealand was so humiliating that he would not go to their offices.

Apart from that, if I don't go to Work and Income, I'm sweet....oh my God; I don't like Work and Income. They ask you various questions like...they are doing their job, I know, but it depends on some officers as well. They take it so far, they make it complicated and then you know you don't get help in your time of need (IP 13).

Parents found it agonising for their children to relate to other children at school about their father not having a job but being on the benefit. While they acknowledge the need for a benefit in hard times like all other New Zealanders who get this support, where a person has the capacity and is willing to work, they should not be deprived of this right. Participants also observed that the benefit system was designed not to encourage people to work because when one does the mathematics, you are better off sitting and getting the benefit than working because when you work you lose some of the support you get on the welfare benefit. One participant said:

Your medical goes up...when you go to see the doctor you pay more and your house is going to go up to the roof and everything else goes up.....and people when they consider all of those factors say, well, I just sit where I am now (IP CL 3).

But people want to work:

Give me the opportunity to contribute to the country. I don't want to live on a handout. That's not too much to ask. So that's where I've felt a little bit let down (IP CL 3).

The lack of support to get into employment and the long term dependency on the benefit made people despondent and hopeless:

We came in and you've got dole and maybe Housing New Zealand gives you a place to stay and that's it – you're on your own. And there are people who have tried to move out of that (benefit system) and they couldn't and then they just gave up and they said, 'well this is my life and I have no other choice, and I'm still on the benefit up to this moment and getting depressed as a result (IP CL 3).

The benefit system also has a stigma attached to it and so refugee families who already carry the stigma of being a refugee feel especially unhappy to be associated with it. One woman who was working hard to be a role model to her children to make sure that they do not end up on the benefit commented that:

I was a nurse and then not qualified in New Zealand so they don't accept it (qualification)....I have a family and I have three children and my priority is my kids to succeed so I can't afford to go to school and study. But still back in my mind, I want one day to go back and get my qualification. And in the mean time I want to be a role model for my kids, to not accept it (the benefit), you know take a full benefit while they grow up here...it's not something I want to accept it for them to go on the dole while they know the language, while they have the opportunity (IP 14).

Employment

The area of employment continues to be an uphill battle for people from refugee backgrounds who still find it hard to find work even after up skilling and completing degree programmes. Sometimes they do not see the benefit of doing further studies because after the qualification, still they are not able to get a job and it becomes a futile exercise, to the one who has been studying, to the family and to the whole community.

Participants in this study who have lived in New Zealand for over 10 years, and have had an opportunity to be part of the work force at some point in

their lives, pointed out the fact that they were available to work but they still faced some challenges in this regard. One participant from a focus group argued that:

Another thing is because when we are at school some people say I want to apply about a job and the first question says, 'you have some experience?' and you say 'no no experience' – you can have some skills to know how to do something and it's very difficult because the Kiwi people don't believe. They say 'oh, you must have an experience; you must have a certificate to show us' and that is... maybe if the Government can organise some jobs for the people who speak same language...because they must...to see their job...you know, the certificate...because it is not the piece of paper who go to do their job, yeah (FGD 2).

This was reiterated by another participant in the focus group who put value in the transference of skills that people have into some meaningful income generating activity to create employment. She stated that:

Yeah, like with this (pointing to their handy work), you didn't need any certificate but here you are. We are trying to do stuff because they have skills. They are not stupid, they can do something. But every time when there's 'oh, write your CV' and all their talents, they're dying. Nobody's recognising what we can achieve. Yeah, that's what pushed us to do what we are doing today but it's like...yeah, we are struggling because our voice is not...where to go and say this is what we think we can achieve (FGD 2).

Participants also spoke about the challenges they had due to their names, religion, different backgrounds and the lack of New Zealand experience but their willingness to be part of the work force had one participant in a focus group suggest that:

We need Government employment agency, which will support refugees. We approach that agency, we give our CV, our qualification; this agency must find a suitable job for the refugees and talk to the employers....this refugee background and supporting until we get a footstep inside that job market (FGD CL 1).

Not finding work in the appropriate field can be very depressing for refugees who come to New Zealand. The focus group noted that for refugees who come with a qualification, there needs to be a system of assessment to see

what one had done before, and then work with them to further develop their career in the New Zealand context. Members in the focus group noted that:

Because there is no proper system, no one cares about what you've done in the past, what are your qualifications, what experience you have. They just bring you there and that's it (FGD CL 1).

Because a doctor who goes and does the cleaning will have mental breakdown and the impact is going to go on the family as well because he's devalued and his personality, his human dignity, is lost as a result of not being helped to take the position that he's supposed to take or the position in which he used to be (FGD CL 1).

And for some highly skilled people....I know people here, engineers and doctors, different skills – given a life and going and volunteering under supervision of expertise people in New Zealand and start working; they feel that they're kind of respected and given the values they have, they learn. But I know GP's and highly skilled people, they start off taxi driving and service stations, which in the nature of human they feel down (IP 6).

The situation of not being able to maintain men's position of being the provider and the protector of the family may impact on men's psychological and emotional wellbeing (Horn, 2010). Horn goes on to argue that, "the feelings of frustration, shame, humiliation and failure mean that he is very sensitive to any perceived 'attack' in this area, and is likely to overreact to small issues (Horn, 2010, p. 367). In frustration, one participant expresses regret:

Why did I choose to leave my country? I'd rather die there than come here (FGD CL 1).

The expression of hopelessness occurred on the faces of participants even as they were going through the interviews. The prospect of coming to a country of resettlement raised so much hope, not in terms of looking forward to being taken care of but having the opportunity to live in a free and safe country where refugees have the right to participate and be economically independent as well.

If there's available jobs...jobs is not only on the income; people are misunderstanding. Jobs mean dignity, value, respect, empowerment, contribution; everything is relating to jobs. Jobs are really powerful. Before I never thought jobs are like this; now I realise jobs are really, really important to good settlement, yeah (IP CL 11).

In terms of employment women from the focus group suggested that each person even though they are not able to speak or read English, they have skills, they can work with their hands to produce something. One woman from this group said:

You can have some skills to know how to do something and it's very difficult because the Kiwi people don't believe. They say 'oh, you must have an experience; you must have a certificate to show us'....maybe if the government can organise some job for the people who speak the same language..... You know... because it's not the piece of paper that goes to do their job (FGD 2).

To create the conditions for refugees to find and keep satisfying work, it will be necessary to develop a range of pathways into work (Feeney 2000), and this is the responsibility of service providers working together to ensure that their collaborative efforts yield positive outcomes for the refugees. The benefit of obtaining employment was reiterated by a participant from a service provider organisation who stated that:

Getting into an employment situation is a turning point for people because their self-esteem is just in a different place (SPP 4).

Refugees in New Zealand in many cases look different, sound different and their names are also different to English and European names. They come from cultures and religions that are different which exposes them to the risk of discrimination in society and also in the work place.

Participants to the study felt there was subtle discrimination out there in the social sectors and in the job sector as well. This leads to social exclusion and it affects refugee groups individually and as a community. It raises question of how refugees can become empowered enough to mobilise social capital to access mainstream resources for their own benefit. This is more challenging in the face of disenfranchisement through lack of recognition of qualifications, unemployment and under-employment, barriers put in place by professional and trade associations, discrimination and ostracisation (Chile, 2002; Colic-Peisker and Tilbury, 2006).

With regards to provision of services, participants felt discriminated against as one participant mentioned:

Things that were disempowering were sometimes discriminations that we've suffered from...places like Work and Income. You go there and the way that people talk to you makes you feel like you really don't belong. And you go to the airport; whether you are going out or coming in.....you've got your citizenship. But they treat you very badly to show that you don't belong (IP CL 3).

Another participant had this to say on discrimination after working in New Zealand for some time and having gone overseas for experience like many Kiwis do:

I would say that as someone with a different look, a different name, different accent, your experience is never the same from even day to day. It really highlighted to me that you can never fully be acknowledged as a New Zealander because of those differences.....the experience was yeah, it was a sad reminder of the fact that the reality is that you are still an outsider in some people's eyes anyway (IP 2).

This particular participant reported that he was a teacher before he left New Zealand for overseas experience. When he came back and applied for work as a teacher, the officers at the recruitment agency asked if he could speak English to the level that is required in New Zealand even before reading his Curriculum Vitae. This shows the level of prejudice and discrimination refugees with non-English/European names face with employers who rather than focus on your skills, look at your name first.

Career Guidance and Follow up Support

For the refugee community career guidance is not only about mapping the employment journey but taking a comprehensive look at individuals' situations, what they have done before coming to New Zealand, what their aspirations are and what opportunities can be there for them in New Zealand, and then supporting them with constant supervision and encouragement.

Participants noted the lack of adequate guidance from high school level for young people and career guidance for adults. The lack of guidance meant that

some lost their dreams as they just settled for whatever training institutions and New Zealand society could offer them. One participant who is now employed in a full time position, noted the hopelessness he felt when the system failed to support him in career development. His original intention was to become a computer technician but after doing the first phase of the course, he failed to get any placement to do his practice and had to change his career completely to something that he had not intended to do. He narrated his career journey:

When I came to New Zealand...it wasn't really easy to get what school, where to go, but I did join UNITEC English for computing....my first course for six months, when I take it, it was for computer but I couldn't find any work experience to help me to be a data entry or writing information. So I asked at every place to offer meany work experience a couple of hours per week but everyone it seems was refusing so I ended up in a workshop....to work on the floor and did my experience, he wrote me a very good reference...he said 'Joe can become a good mechanic. He has got basic skills and stuff and then I ended up changing my career (IP CL 9).

The lack of career support from the training institution led to his change of career aspiration. However, support from a mechanical workshop manager gave him the opportunity to make a start somehow. This shifted his aspiration to become a computer technician to becoming an auto mechanic. He goes on to say;

Because my journey was not planned and there was no full support of a way there, especially for refugees, that's why it seems I lost my track in between (IP CL 9).

Another participant faced a lot of frustrations as he struggled to register for his field of practice without support from agencies. He said:

I sit for the exams....I passed part 1 and part 2, this led me to get a thing for registration.....the challenge was that in doing the exam and after the exam nothing was in place. There was no support agency to help us. Suppose I was not able to pass exam, there was no feedback from the examiner to sit with us and tell us....you are good in this, but you must improve on this, nothing was in place really. We were like in the middle of nowhere; it was dark and very difficult for us yeah (IP CL 11).

Participants who had achieved significantly in the education and career sectors seemed to be the ones who talked more about lack of guidance. Their perseverance and self drive got them to where they are now, but when they look back, they see these glaring gaps in support services. Those who did not take the challenge to keep pushing against the odds fell through the gaps and many are still surviving on the benefit. One research participant had this to say about the process:

When I went to university, I had no idea what I was going to study and nobody actually helped you...you might go to mainstream services but sometimes they may not know how to help you as well because they will treat you like any other New Zealander but you are different because you don't know the system, you don't have support at home, you don't have uncles or friends that have that background or those degrees.....I had to jump from majoring in these to that until I finally decide to major in education (IP CL 1).

One participant talked of career guidance which to him was negative and not encouraging him to achieve what he was capable of. The participant commented:

My teachers from AUT at Mangere Refugee Centre, some of their suggestions were for me to go to work, like at BP or petrol station, you know, so you can interact into the local community and pick up the accent and all this.....from my point of view that was a waste of time (IP 12).

It is important for service providers to acknowledge that learning the English language for young refugees can be concurrent with other things they like or have an interest in, not necessarily having to work or to go into academic classes.

The perseverance of those participants to further their studies and obtain employment showed the resilience that is within the refugee community, which when identified and nurtured can yield positive outcomes for the individual and for the economy of the country. The issue of career guidance is strongly linked to settlement planning and subsequent follow up of individuals. Where there is a good settlement plan, this enables service providers to advise refugees at each stage of the settlement journey based on the plan and the challenges

they would be facing, making the monitoring process much more structured and effective. A participant from a service provider organisation reiterated the fact that it is beneficial for the government to invest in the lives of refugees as they come in, to guide them and support them towards economic emancipation so that they do not depend on the benefit long term. Keeping parents on the benefit creates a culture of dependency as the refugee children then lack role models to motivate them to achieve. The research participant had this to say about government support:

If you look at someone sitting on the dole for seven years in New Zealand, the difference between that and having, say a road safety and a driving licence paid for by the government so that they can get a job, is not even worth doing the sums (SPP 4).

Participants suggested more follow up from the settlement agencies after moving from Mangere into the community. Follow up would be in the form of visits or even phone calls to find out how individuals and families were coping. Participants felt that follow up was lacking and they felt left on their own. None of the participants were happy with the follow up system with some mentioning that if it happened, it was after a long period of time. However a participant from a service provider organisation mentioned that at Mangere during the six weeks, refugees' strengths and skills are reinforced and there are discussions about how those skills can be transferred to a New Zealand setting.

And it's also about reinforcing that with our words so when social workers are on home visits, when cross cultural workers are with them, they're constantly going back to the skills, giving them the choices, so helping them understand options that are out there but very much leaving the decision making with them (SPP 4).

This dialogue continues during the tenure of Refugee Services support which is six months with a proposal to take that up to 15 months. However there is no clear handover of these individuals and families to other service providers in the community after this phase, so that follow up can be shared by several service providers, with programmes to support refugees. The responsibility is left to the refugees themselves and the volunteers who work with them to identify and make contact with the service providers in the community. Follow

up could be a shared responsibility if there was adequate collaboration between service providers – for the benefit of refugee families.

Family Reunification

Quota refugees are often resettled without their families. Many leave some members of their family behind either in the refugee camps or in their countries of origin. Once they arrive in the country of resettlement, in safety, their first objective is to bring their families to join them. Persaud, (2006) argues that when refugees flee their homes in distress, they often get separated from their families and when they get to the country of resettlement, re-establishment of the family unity becomes of paramount importance since to them it is their “source of protection” (p. 21), and the basic point from which to build their strength and confidence to participate in the new environment.

Refugees who came to New Zealand as single mothers or husbands without their family emphasised the importance of (considerations for) family reunification as a way of empowering communities. One woman from the focus group expressed the challenges women faced without their husbands:

I think we have a problem that those ones who didn't come. Like their husbands, they find it hard staying by themselves with the children...back home in Africa the mother and father – they are the ones that educate the children. But coming here as a solo mother its difficult for many, many refugees (FGD 2).

The challenge for mothers is getting their children to embrace the New Zealand culture while at the same time maintaining their own culture. This becomes even a bigger problem without a father as a role model and mentor in the family. Some women talked of the difficulty of raising children without the support of extended family:

Because there is no service that can help you or support you even though you are educated, even though you are working... but you still need your relatives with you (IP 10).

Other participants described family reunification as a way of managing refugee resettlement in New Zealand. One participant suggested:

I think family reunification would be a major thing. For me personally I thought instead of bringing in brand new people who would bring the same issues that people have here already, how about having a break and trying to unite families that are here already because that is going to reduce all the mental breakdown, all the depressions and all the things that we know are really happening for the moment (IP 3).

Once refugees reach a safe place they begin to think about their families back home or in other parts of the world. A participant who came to New Zealand as a young man said:

To be honest I just wanted to get somewhere in life. First of all it starts peace, peace and stability...and after that it's about family reunification. That was my aim. Because we were just scattered everywhere prior to that. My brother was living in another place and my sister lived in another place, so it was about family reunification and seeing my family again (IP 13).

For many participants family reunification was what they felt would give them peace of mind and reduce both personal and family stress.

Settlement Planning

Participants talked about the importance of settlement planning starting from when refugees are identified to come to New Zealand up to the point when they arrive in the country and are allocated places to stay in different parts of the country. They said settlement planning enables people to be placed in locations that are most suited to their needs and enables service providers to provide the best service that will ensure that refugees are as close as possible to meet their hopes and aspirations. Participants called for the involvement of people from refugee backgrounds in resettlement planning within an empowerment based approach. One participant talked about coming to a third country of resettlement as the last hope for refugees and if this did not work well, all the resilience and strength just crumbles leading to cases of mental illness. He said:

We thought we suffer too much, we lost our family, loved ones, you know, people being killed, loss of our home, we had no hope, we come here and everybody knows who we are and just help us, like, make a plan for us, help us, support us, how we could help you know....nothing was in place like that.....we are not here for another challenge, we're past that, we don't have much energy, we need some help and support (IP CL 11).

This was a plea from someone using their last reserve of energy who on arriving looked forward to some form of guidance in planning their settlement. Another participant who came with big dreams shattered due to lack of planning said:

If you come with a big dream and aspiration and your dreams and aspirations has been assessed and been planned and been guided and helped, that would help a lot of refugees. Not just on employment, even if I had a plan to go to school what sort of school do I really need to go to? (IP CL 9).

Because refugees are not very familiar with the systems in New Zealand, the information that they get at Mangere is not adequate for them to be able to make these decisions on their own. Also before refugees arrive in New Zealand, it is important to provide information and support them to work through their expectations even before they leave the refugee camps. One participant said:

I think to settle; first of all they have to know much about New Zealand before they come. They have to cancel everything they know. Most of the people expected it to be high standard of living... so instead of expecting that, they have to know before they come (IP 15).

Participants reported that many refugees think they are coming to a developed nation and expect very high standards. So they are surprised and disappointed when they are allocated small rooms at Mangere. For many this is not a positive start to settlement for them. From there on their hope and expectation diminish as they are faced with the reality of life in a new country after a few months of settlement. One Sudanese participant observed that:

Sometimes most refugees are coming with a very high expectation....'now I am going to New Zealand, life will be easy' - which changes...a few months or a year down the line when they get

the reality. So making a good plan for individuals that are coming in, that's very important. And that plan will involve every aspect of living, which includes education...some people come very educated but they can't get in the system because their education...is from a different country and they can't get a job or they don't have experience of New Zealand (IP CL 1).

Part of planning for refugee settlement is to "plan, ask, and find out, what is working and what is not" (IP CL 1). Participants talked of the need for service providers to find out what educational backgrounds refugees had, so that they could be supported effectively within the New Zealand context. One participant stated:

The government...was to set up an integration programme that is really well defined, where I know that when I'm coming here this is what I'm going to go through....this is the time it's going to get and try to get me into studies....as I said before, assess and evaluate what I've done before and get into details to find out what the gaps are compared to those... in New Zealand, what I have missed, what I need to do really to get to that level and certainly into employment...that really didn't happen (IP 3).

Participants also talked about settlement planning in terms of where people are settled in the country. One participant said:

Somebody who has got like a farming background, there's no need to keep such a person in Auckland for instance...he simply needs to be where he can easily integrate....so that he can get into the same life that he used to live. And that is something that is not really happening as well because of the lack of assessment (IP CL3).

A participant in a focus group had this to say about settlement planning:

Some people come from a nomadic background and some people come from the city, some people come from multi-cultural areas. So we need to know from what background they come so pre-arrival assessment is very important. That's one aspect that hasn't been done very much in New Zealand (FGD CL 1).

Settlement planning also requires a New Zealand wide selection of settlement locations to accommodate the needs of refugees. This demands more effective collaboration between service providers and past refugees to deliver positive and empowering settlement outcomes for incoming refugees. Housing New

Zealand presently has limitations on places where refugees can settle, an issue which is determined by availability of key service offices such as Refugees as Survivors, Refugee Services Aotearoa New Zealand, interpreters and so forth. A better collaboration of service providers with support from the refugee community could see the responsibility of resettling refugees falling on a wider range of organisations, with the incoming refugees being actively involved as well.

Community Education

The community of New Zealand constitutes the people, the institutions and systems that govern the way things are done in this country. One of the objectives of the New Zealand Settlement strategy is that newcomers (migrants and refugees and their families) “feel safe expressing their ethnic identity and be accepted by and become part of the wider community” (Department of Labour, 2007b). Promoting the importance of community education starts right from the top since even some members of parliament do not agree with the concept of humanitarian support. One member of the focus group related his encounter with a minister during one of the advocacy meetings saying:

I was talking to some friends the other day about a minister that we went to visit in our advocacy, who looked at us and said, ‘well us we don’t like you refugees, end of story’. And we were shocked as she was laughing and I said ‘how can you say that? You are an official of the government and you don’t like refugees’ and she said yeah, but I can explain why (FGD CL 1).

This minister of government went on to explain that refugees were a burden and a drain on the country and that working people pay taxes and a lot of money is being poured into refugees. The minister noted that refugees were not contributing anything. This indicates that the concept of humanitarian support does not have universal support even in senior government offices, and underlies the need for more effective community education. Another participant commented about the conservative nature of New Zealanders:

They put a smile on their face but deep down that's not what they think. I think what needed to be done is a lot of education. The government should get involved into that.....politicians have the power to change things. One word that a politician says on TV can change the scenery altogether. And that hasn't really happened and that's why you see that wherever you go, whatever you want to do, the doors are either shut or half open and that's really because of the stigma that people have (IP CL 3).

Community education also relates to the role that media plays in portraying the humanitarian commitment of New Zealand to bringing in quota refugees and accepting asylum seekers. Media advertising though done in a positive manner can create a stigma for refugees especially the youth who then get taunted at school. One of the participants from a service provider was amazed at the absence of refugees at important meetings that are held to discuss refugee strategy:

I was presenting at the Philanthropic conference in Wellington...there were about 40-50 people in the room. And I asked, do you know who is a refugee? Only three or four people knew. I don't think there is enough information or knowledge about who is a refugee or who refugees are...there are a lot of gaps, we need lots of education...some of our refugee young people, they told us that they were called in a school "a dollar a day boy"...so this is what ...they say in the media...that's the only information they have (SPP 6).

Refugees if given an opportunity to work, their desire is to make a contribution to the economy of the country of resettlement. A service provider participant reiterated:

So that's part of people not seeing refugees as pathetic, helpless, damaged people. You know, so that's part of educating host communities. I think there's a lot to be done still in the host community; a lot of work. And that's a challenge and I suppose it's - some of it is a financial issue, you know, resources don't come free. But we try wherever we can, wherever we've got the money, the resources, whether it's people resources, time or the money, to share our knowledge of refugee situations so that people can become better educated and better informed (SPP 2 - 1).

The importance of community education was further affirmed by another service provider participant who said:

But I think that for resettlement to be successful, then you need employers and communities to be receptive and to have positive perspectives in relation to people that come from incredibly difficult situations (SPP 7).

This can be achieved through various modes of community education.

Participants felt that there is a need to educate New Zealand community so that they can welcome refugees not as people who are coming to deplete the resources of this country but people who are given a second chance of living their lives in a peaceful environment. There was need to educate the community on the background about refugees. A service provider which works with refugee youths through creativity and arts narrated a refugee youth story in dealing with the local students at school:

You know like these young Palestinian boys, they said to me just in the weekend, "we don't know what to say. All of the boys at school think that Osama Bin Laden was like our uncle. We come from Iraq. The only thing we have in common with Osama... was that we are Muslims". So I think the resettlement process is a little one-sided, that we're not doing enough to help the receivers as part of the process SPP 9).

Public information or media coverage as a way for community education could be one of the ways to go for government as one participant said:

I think it starts again with government because again government bring people in but they don't actually explain. I think there is very poor communication from government about why we have refugees, what strengths they have, it's the government's humanitarian programme and they're bad advertisers for it. If they were really plugging it and plugging it with employers Associations and all sorts of people, I think that would provide a better sort of groundwork (SPP 4).

Collaboration of Service Providers

Government departments and Non Government Organisations (NGO) as well as many community organisations are involved in the resettlement process of quota refugees. Government departments operate on the largest budgets, followed by NGOs and the least funded are community organisations, many of

which carry out services to support their own people on a voluntary basis. Participants appreciated the extent government departments and NGOs go to provide support and services, but wondered if there was a mechanism to appraise these services to find out how effective they are in meeting the needs of refugees. Participants also saw the great value in services initiated by refugees for the support of their own people and called for the collaboration of service providers to ensure much more effective delivery of service to the refugee community. A service provider commented about collaboration in government departments thus:

They're (government) bringing them (refugees) in under their humanitarian programme so they need to take full responsibility and they also need to take responsibility for closing that gap between...Department of Labour through Immigration, bringing through humanitarian cases and then Ministry of Social Development saying, 'oh actually you have to work' but because they are two separate government departments, they're not saying ok,...we'll only bring through people who are work ready. So to me there's a big logistical gap there and I can only see that being filled by government saying... we have to put in money so that these humanitarian entrants can actually move over there and become work ready candidates for Ministry of Social Development (SPP 4)

These gaps impact on the resettlement process for refugees and the frustration of having to deal with officers who work for government but speak very different languages can be disempowering for refugees. A participant from Sudan had this to say:

I know there are so many service providers – it's so fragmented around – and sometimes meeting the needs could be so fragmented as well...there are so fragmented organisation around and they have funding to do different sort of work. I think collaboration between those services will be the main thing, followed by proper funding, because some that are doing more practical work are under-funded (IP CL 1)

The reference to some organisations that are doing quality practical work in the community but are under-funded was to refugee community groups supporting their own people.

Some participants in this research commented about the little collaboration between the numbers of agencies involved at Mangere as a situation that may create confusion for some incoming refugees. One of the research participants from an agency that contributes to the orientation programme, remarked:

Another challenge is the interruptions that we have in the classes from other agencies on the site. And the refugee students themselves express some frustration with that as well; that sometimes they don't seem to have any control over that if they're just called to appointments that they might not have made (SPP 2-2).

In the six weeks that refugees are at Mangere Refugee Reception Centre, each of the organisations has to accomplish their assessments and checks on the refugees before they leave the centre. The checks required from the wide range of agencies are quite extensive. The pressure to complete all processes within limited time frames often reduces the families and individuals to case numbers and statistics, as one service provider noted:

For example, when other agencies come into classrooms, some will call out numbers, case numbers. And we've had a bit of a challenge really getting through to some other agencies, the message that we don't teach numbers; these are people (SPP 2-2).

The participants noted the breakdown of services for social work, counselling, and mental health with many others being so fragmented, and yet all of them dealing with the same person. They noted that the collaboration between agencies at Mangere Refugee Reception Centre does not extend into the community when refugees require on-going support. One participant noted that:

I think it starts with the national ones, which is the government agencies like the main leading organisation, the Ministry of Immigration, which is the Department of Labour. The Ministry of Social Development, Education, and so many others; they need to come together. And I haven't seen that. They haven't worked together although they work together in some capacity but I haven't seen them working effectively together for some reason (IP CL 1).

This participant went on to stress the need for organisations working together in the community to support refugees because:

Their (refugees) issues or traumas don't surface for a year or more. So sometimes we think that within those six months, that is when a lot of attention is focused on helping them but yet their issues don't materialise until when they reach a certain number of months or year (IP CL 1).

Good collaboration starts with good communication as the general manager of a service provider put it:

In my observation the communication between all the different sectors, the support sector is just about zero. So all the NGOs, and the government departments and I know in part it's because the sector is so overwhelmingly complex and big and people don't get paid enough and everyone is just dealing with their own workloads, but there is such appalling communication (SPP 9).

The findings in this chapter tended to be more about identifying the gaps, because the study was focusing on empowerment and the lack of it. However, there were areas where one or two participants were happy with the services provided as highlighted by one member of a focus group:

Like, things like when refugees come to New Zealand, they help them to show them where to go, how they can catch a bus. These can be, like, minute things but that are very, very important for anyone; opening a bank account for them, trying to set them up in the system, trying to help with the volunteers who are helping to take the children to school, enrol them with the doctors; all those programmes are really fantastic because they are empowering the refugee communities (FGD CL 1).

Another participant was happy with the services provided by different organisations:

Like, for example, when we were in the Refugee Camp we have sponsors; they are working but they put their work apart and look after us refugees really. They put a lot of time on our situation. They look for houses, a school for the children, appointments, Work and Income and maybe schools for adult education for us – like for us, we came here and we don't know – they have to look for home tutors for us. And they have to look also for a school for us and for our kids. That's a good opportunity too for us, we refugees (IP 5).

This chapter presented findings of the study from the perspective of participants from refugee background as well as from organisational service

providers as well as community service providers. Participants highlighted nine major themes which were discussed as follows:

- Education, where the major concerns were the teenage children falling through the gaps.
- English language support - the inadequacy of the English programmes for refugees especially women.
- Welfare support - participants felt that the initial support is necessary as grants but it should be short lived and complemented by thorough empowerment strategies to get refugees into work.
- Employment - highlighting the desire of refugees to work and not depend wholly on the benefit.
- Career guidance - this was lacking with many refugees not getting the proper guidance to enable them to make informed choices.
- Family reunification as a major component of refugee resettlement with refugees feeling disempowered by worry about the welfare of their relatives in their countries of origin.
- Settlement planning as it concerns decisions on who comes to New Zealand and what support is there for them to effectively resettle.
- Community education - to raise awareness among the local New Zealanders on the situation of refugees.
- Collaboration of service providers to make effective use of funding and not compete for their own survival.

This chapter presented what participants raised on the variety of topics. The next chapter makes an analysis of the extent to which New Zealand refugee resettlement programmes are empowering in relation to the four forms of economic, human and social, political and cultural empowerment by Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton and Bird (2009).

Chapter Seven

Are New Zealand Refugee Resettlement Programmes Empowering?

This chapter considers the findings of this research in the context of the theoretical framework of power and empowerment. This thesis set out to address the research question, 'to what extent does the resettlement of quota refugees in New Zealand empower refugees'. Luttrell et al (2009) identify four main forms of empowerment namely economic, human and social empowerment, political and cultural empowerment. For each of these forms of empowerment, Luttrell et al define five stages that take place as one progresses from welfare, access stage, conscientisation/awareness raising stage, participation/mobilization and finally control where individuals can make their own decisions and these are acknowledged and respected. In my opinion, the four forms of empowerment as described in Chapter 3 can happen concurrently with different stages of advancement for each, depending on the situation of the individual. The ultimate aspiration would be for people who are disempowered to reach the control stage in economic, human and social, political and cultural empowerment, where they are no longer depending on benefits, but are in control of all spheres of their lives and are actively making decisions about their own lives.

Participants provided their own understanding of empowerment and also explained how they thought resettlement programmes were either empowering or disempowering. However, there was general consensus among participants that empowerment is the core of effective resettlement.

This chapter will consider five programmes that are currently implemented to support quota refugee resettlement in New Zealand and appraise them for aspects of empowerment. In each of the programmes, reference will be made to the four forms of empowerment as described by Luttrell et al (2009).

Consideration will also be given to what research participants said during this study as well as what literature from other countries say about refugee empowerment programmes.

Higgins (1999) reviewed participation and empowerment of communities highlighting that “lack of empowerment is expressed through powerlessness, alienation and loss of a sense of control over ones’ life” (p. 295). Refugees experience loss of power from the time they flee their countries and even when they arrive in the country of resettlement. This demands that resettlement programmes that aim to restore this loss of power and restore refugees’ locus of control over decisions about their well-being are designed from an empowerment framework.

Hardina, Middleton, Montana and Simpson (2007) state that empowerment comes from individuals, groups and communities acquiring the resources that enhance their capacity for self-actualization. These include money, status, authority, educational qualifications, votes, knowledge, public support, information, services, ability to influence the media, goods and relationships with people in power or with power. Many refugees in New Zealand lack these resources (Refugee Voices, 2004). There are a number of factors that hinder refugees from acquiring these resources, and therefore gaining empowerment.

Factors Hindering Empowerment

The opposite of power can be simply described as powerlessness. When one is in a position of powerlessness they lack the capacity to interact with others and with social structures in ways that help them benefit from life opportunities (Hardina, Middleton, Montana, & Simpson, 2007). The lack of sustained structures and mechanisms for learning the English language puts refugees in a position where they struggle to interact with others and takes away the internal control/strength that enables them to actively participate in their community and the wider New Zealand society. Wallerstein (1993) states that people may learn powerlessness subjectively when they lack internal control but have

external locus of control and feel as outsiders in the world where they live. Objective learning of powerlessness can happen when people lack political and economic power and live in abject poverty with no resources. People in this situation then internalise this lack and remain powerless. Resource deprivation and powerlessness leads some refugee groups such as women to internalize powerlessness and become contented with the status quo (Chile, 2002). The lack of proficiency in English language, for example, has implications in other areas such as education, employment, knowledge of rights and responsibilities, accessing the health system, and enabling refugees to break away from the welfare system, to become economically independent.

Empowering Aspects of the New Zealand Refugee Resettlement Programmes

Mangere Refugee Reception Centre Orientation

Quota refugees spend six weeks at Mangere Refugee Reception Centre (MRRC) on arrival in New Zealand. The orientation programme which is provided by different agencies focuses on learning the English language, general needs assessments, medical screening and treatment, housing allocation, organising benefits, opening bank accounts and introduction to life in New Zealand. The orientation programme can be empowering to some refugees who have acquired certain levels of proficiency in English language that enables them to gain and assimilate the information provided during this period. For refugees still struggling to comprehend the language it can be overwhelming and therefore disempowering. A tick box approach to information provided would tick all boxes. However an assessment of the extent of usability of information provided indicates gaps in the system. While some participants saw the value of the six weeks orientation and the teaching of English as the main component, some participants felt that teaching English language at this time during the settlement process was a waste of time. One participant appreciated the orientation time at Mangere and said:

The other thing for the refugee resettlement, many good things, like, say, like the orientation we got every morning. And they teach us how to live in New Zealand or something like that. And then they bring some of the Police to come and explain to us about the rules and regulations all in New Zealand, something like that. So they are very benefit for us how to live in New Zealand; that's a great help to us. Why I can comment is I've got some Chinese friends and Korean friends; they didn't come as refugees here; so unfortunately they couldn't understand like us. We got to retrain in the refugee centre in Mangere (IP 8).

Another participant felt it was a waste of time and said:

Like teaching English there for six weeks. It doesn't help anything whatsoever. People don't need that there. What people need are things that will help them. I know English is really the key to any integration; any successful settlement. But at the same time, people don't need to be confused with that as soon as they come because they've got things that they are worried about. Because those people, when they come, they don't know that they will be given a house. They don't know that they will be given furniture; that volunteers will go around. They think 'how am I going to survive? I don't have the language. I don't know anyone. I don't do this, I don't do that, I'm this, I'm that; how am I going to do things?' What they need are things that are going to help them to really fit in well. Like, language is really something that needs to be taken off first. 'Teach me how I'm going to live here.' And then when they are out in the city, they can get into programmes, not six weeks and interrupted and start all over again somewhere else, no; they need to get into that programme once they are in the city. They enroll in a school where they take it for six months, one year, that's fine. Having it in six weeks, they close it and go back there and another teacher comes and doesn't even check what they learned there and start his or her own things and it doesn't really help much (IP CL 3).

Generally participants said that the time at Mangere could be used to unwind and talk about life in New Zealand – what opportunities are there for the different categories of refugees and develop individual and family plans on how each person and/or family could progress as they leave the centre and move into the wider New Zealand society. Comprehensive support to gain English language proficiency could then be offered later on during the settlement process. Grogan (2008) gives examples of the United States resettlement programmes where the orientation aims and priorities are towards self-sufficiency. From the onset of resettlement starting off in the country of asylum, refugees are informed of the culture and what it means to live in the

USA. The information prepares them for life in America. Resettlement programmes delivered by a number of organizations in the USA focus on equipping refugees for all the four forms of empowerment.

While the orientation of refugees to New Zealand begins when they reach Mangere Refugee Reception Centre (MRRC), USA, Australia and Canada provide this information off shore and this helps to reduce stress and anxieties. According to Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton and Bird (2009), most of the activities during the orientation programmes have to do with cultural empowerment where newly arrived refugees have the opportunity to redefine their values, rules and norms in alignment with the culture of the country of resettlement. Redefining one's culture in the context of a new environment is an important step and forms a building block upon which other forms of empowerment are established.

In New Zealand after leaving MRRC, refugees are supported for up to one year by cross cultural workers and social workers. The idea that cross cultural workers speak the same language as refugees is empowering as they support them and explain cultural differences and help refugees to adjust to their new environment. The challenge comes when a new group of refugees is brought into New Zealand for the first time and there are no cross cultural workers to support them.

Volunteers complement the work of Refugee Services staff by walking alongside refugees for up to six months after they move out of Mangere Refugee Reception Centre and support them with enrolling their children in school, showing them how transport and utilities systems work in the home. The support helps refugees to address the lower level needs according to Maslow's hierarchy of needs and after one year when these services withdraw and the refugees have to fit with the general community, the refugees start to experience the challenges of finding their way. Participants in the study highlighted the many challenges they faced trying to acquire English language proficiency and the ineffectiveness of the short duration courses offered

through support of Work and Income. This they found cumbersome and not empowering. Parents expressed concern for their children who came to New Zealanders as teenagers and where placed in school levels that they could not cope with. This resulted in the children dropping out of school and engaging in other activities which the families found to be out of line with their cultural and religious beliefs. This caused a lot of tensions in the home and grief to the parents. Their hope in coming to New Zealand was not only to find a safe place for their children but also a hope for a brighter and successful future. The families found this lack of appropriate support for learning English for parents as well as teenage children very disempowering.

The process of empowerment of any form is not clearly defined in the orientation programmes at MRRC, which is evidenced by the lack of a holistic centrally coordinated orientation programme covering English Language, life in New Zealand, health checks and financial support. Participants noted that each of the organizations providing these services function independently. New Zealand has the potential to implement an empowerment focused programme since it has a clear orientation programme for six weeks, unlike countries like USA, Britain and Australia where refugees are received by community organisations in the community where they resettle (Joudi Kadri, 2009).

Pathways to Resettlement Programme

Refugee Services has developed and implemented a Pathways Programme, in Wellington and Hamilton, since July 2010 as a pilot and this is to be rolled out to all regions where refugees are resettled. The Pathways Programme is a planning tool that was initiated at the MRRC and records assessments and aspirations of refugees and enables service providers to support each stage of the settlement journey (Refugee Services, 2010). As refugees leave Mangere, they take this folder with them but the tool continues to be the guide for Refugee Services staff and other services in the follow up stages, with progress being measured against the original plan. This initiative is an effort to empower refugees to own their information and have the choice to take it with them and share with service providers.

Some comments from research participants saw this programme as having a potential to empower refugees on resettlement but since it is still in the pilot phase, not much can be said about it at the time of writing this report. Assessment of this project is therefore based on written plans and reports.

The Pathways Programme however, other than being a checklist of dreams and aspirations, makes no mention of empowerment and how a coordinated approach from organizations can enable refugees to achieve any one of the four forms of empowerment. Gubbay (1989) describes newcomers to any country of settlement as people who suffer culture shock and often experience deep humiliation and low self-esteem as they struggle to apply their life experiences or knowledge or their personal strengths into the new environment due to many barriers such as English language proficiency, lack of knowledge of the New Zealand culture both socially and at work, gender roles, New Zealand's egalitarian system and lack of recognition of qualifications. Faced with all these challenges, it is difficult to determine if refugees will understand and make meaningful use of this resource.

The Pathways to Employment Programme for example could contain a matrix of service providers working together to ensure the listed goals and aspirations of individual refugees are achieved rather than have a checklist with no written plan of how that is going to be achieved.

The Pathways Programme could be a holistic programme encompassing mainly economic empowerment, including assessment of the background of individual refugees, their skills, capabilities and potential. This could include developing a plan of action that enables refugees to reach employable stages through training, up-skilling and/or improve English Language proficiency (Carey-Wood, 1997).

Social Welfare System

The refugee resettlement programme in New Zealand is welfare based. It seeks to provide for the basic needs of refugees, with the expectation that where basic needs are met, individuals would be empowered to address higher needs in

line with Maslow's hierarchy of needs. However for this to occur, the support provided in the resettlement process, needs to consider empowerment strategies that enable refugees to move on beyond those basic needs. Mestheneos and Ioannidi (2002) points out that "countries offering substantial support to refugees in the way of welfare state support and benefits also sometimes helped confirm the picture of refugees as less able, dependent and belonging to the socially excluded" (p.314).

The welfare systems comply with the lowest level of intervention to meet economic empowerment needs according to the Longwe framework (Longwe 1991). Refugees in New Zealand are not part of the decision making process that determines the type or location of house they are going to inhabit, the bank they want to open their account with or the type of school they want to put their children into but are more or less passive recipients, who take whatever is available for them. One service provider said:

We have kept quota refugees quite dependent in the way that we have very generously wanted to look after them. Basically, not just in Housing New Zealand, but in New Zealand per se, the New Zealand Government, we've been so anxious to look after and make sure that they're taken care of, that it's actually in my opinion squashed them right down into a position where they really haven't got control over their own lives. Living in a Housing New Zealand house you have little control over where you live, how you live, when you move, the colour of your wallpaper for example. All of those things are controlled. And to me that's not a good thing, especially if people have been robbed of all of those choices for a very long time; so they've been in refugee camps for a very long time, controlled by others. And they come to New Zealand and they're controlled by others again; Government controlling their situation (SPP 5).

While in the resettlement process some consideration is given to where other members of the family are, refugees who refuse to go to a city or location where they are allocated state housing lose all the support from refugee support agencies except for the benefit and are left to fend for themselves.

The USA, Canada and Australia resettlement programmes are more geared towards self-sufficiency, with Canada not providing travel grants for the

incoming journey, but a loan which is payable within six months after arriving in Canada (Simich, Hamilton and Baya, 2006).

Participants in this study reported that the benefit system was disempowering in the long term as it did not provide mechanisms for supporting people into work. There were no overall strategies and/or plans to support refugees into jobs that were in line with their experience, skills and previous professions or interest. As noted earlier in this report, there is a discrepancy between Immigration New Zealand's humanitarian response to the global refugee situation, the type of refugees being brought into New Zealand and the expected Work and Income employment outcomes for resettled refugees. Consequently many refugees who aspired to work found themselves in menial jobs on the minimum wage, which did not provide enough compensation to encourage them to get off the benefit. Many felt that they were better off not working. This notion is supported by Grogan (2008) who points out that "in New Zealand one can survive to a reasonable standard on benefits alone." (p. 35). This is in contrast to the United States where the "emphasis of resettlement efforts is clear and unequivocal: self-sufficiency" (Grogan, p. 33).

Participants in the study called for a review of the welfare benefit system so that it can support people into employment and reward those who come off the benefit into employment. A lot of work therefore needs to go into appraising and planning individual aspirations and expectations through a clear programme that prepares refugees for the various aspects of life in New Zealand including their social, cultural and economic participation.

Participation and Self-Empowerment

Participation covers various levels of human and social empowerment, political empowerment and economic empowerment (Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton and Bird (2009). Human and social empowerment enables people to acquire power through a multidimensional process and to determine what is important in their lives. This process deals with individual refugees and moves on to community initiatives where the community will speak and act in their own

favour. The process of human and social empowerment for example could impact on how support programmes for refugee resettlement are initiated and implemented in New Zealand.

Political empowerment is also a component of participation as it allows people to examine situations that affect their lives and be able to mobilise resources (financial, human, material) and implement social change for the benefit of their community. Piron and Watkins (2004) argue that political empowerment enables people to claim their rights and entitlements, a function which is very important for refugee resettlement.

Participants in the study talked of the efforts that refugee community leaders are putting into supporting their own communities for them to participate in matters that concern their lives. The New Zealand National Refugee Network is an initiative funded by the Department of Labour, and allows the collective voice of refugees to be heard by having people from refugee backgrounds tell their stories. The aim of the project is to educate the New Zealand host community on the situation of refugees. For a long time refugee stories have been told through service organisations and the media often with negative connotations (Psoinos, 2007). Being in a position where refugees can tell their story can be empowering. Narratives are important tools to assist individuals to reflect on their situation and come up with ways of improving it. People in powerless positions can learn to empower themselves when they “discover, or create and give voice to, a collective narrative that sustains their own personal life story in positive ways” (Rappaport, 1995, p. 796).

Refugees who have lived in New Zealand for a while have realized the need to form associations to support their own people. They report that this has made the resettlement of refugees arriving recently more effective. A community leader who was a participant in this study commented that:

We started nine years ago...some of our elders thought it is very important because the families who are settling in New Zealand need support because whatever support given is short term and to be honest, people coming in with language barriers and after being refugees mean

that some of them haven't got the education and things like that. Coming into the country and settling takes a long time, so the support given is...we feel it is not enough and so the community...we thought we need to support them (SPP 8).

A number of programmes by both government and NGOs such as Refugee Voices funded by the Department of Labour, common office resource by Migrant Action Trust and Settling In by Ministry of Social Development have been developed to support the efforts of refugee communities by providing training in areas such as governance and direct funding to enable community groups to run empowerment programmes for their people. Rother (2008) states that being empowered is about being assertive, with a feeling of usefulness that drives one as an individual, to hope for change and to desire to make a difference, as well as understanding one's privileges and rights. Community organizations set up to support refugee communities collaborate with both government departments and NGOs to develop resettlement programmes that are empowering from the perspective of their own people.

Research participants expressed frustration at the fact that without appropriate support, the joy of being brought to New Zealand to a safe place is quickly overshadowed by the many challenges refugees face during the resettlement process. Participants suggested that empowering refugees and refugee communities increased their positive image by recognising their capabilities. Empowerment enabled them to break from the stigma of 'refugee', and develop a positive feeling of being recognized as part of New Zealand society with the same privileges, rights and responsibilities, and the capacity to implement change in their life and their community (Rother, 2008). The importance of participation is supported by studies on Afghan women in the USA (Lindgren and Lipson, 2004).

The creation of refugee organizations such as the New Zealand National Refugee Network (NZNRN) and events such as the National Refugee Resettlement Forum (NRRF) as well as local and regional forums provide the opportunity for refugees to contribute to refugee resettlement processes in this country. Refugee participants hoped that the next stages in refugee

resettlement planning could include full utilization of refugee experiences to develop policy and implementation strategies on the ground. Refugee participants also desired to make contributions to the determination process for future refugee quotas in terms of the caliber of refugees and their origin. This could open up channels for New Zealand to come up with strategies to support other forms of durable solutions as is the case with the Australian off shore programme (Joudi Kadri, 2009).

The challenge with human and social, political and economic empowerment depends on the extent to which service provider organisations are willing to empower refugee groups and to some extent hand over power to them. Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton and Bird (2009) highlight the distinction between Agency approaches to development which leads to transformation, versus a Structure approach in development initiatives. They describe 'agency' as the "capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices" (p. 9) and 'structure' as the "rules and social forces (such as social class, gender, religion, customs, ethnicity) that limit or influence the opportunities that determine the action of individuals" (p. 9). Luttrell et al point out that development programmes originating from the grassroots often focus on personal and social transformation of the people (agency approach), while capacity building programmes for organisations often aim at meeting people's needs (structural approach). From this perspective therefore, there is a need for empowerment programmes to focus on agency issues that deal with transformative outcomes rather than simply meeting needs.

Luttrell et al (2009) suggest that it is also logical to combine and run 'agency' and 'structural' forms of empowerment to benefit people who are in a powerless situation. For example they argue that depending on the situation of the people being dealt with, economic empowerment alone may not be very useful if the structures that impact on the capacity of the powerless group to express that empowerment are not addressed. They suggest that it is important to address the basic needs as a first step towards longer term sustainable empowerment.

Participants in the study felt that there was more room for them to participate and they would like to be given the opportunity to be part of policies and discussions that design strategies and plans for refugee resettlement, to ensure that all refugees who settle in New Zealand move to self-sufficiency as soon as possible. Organisations required more capacity building to enhance their ability to carry out their business well as well as adequate funding.

Participants also felt that educating the host community on the situation of refugees, especially the high needs cases that New Zealand accepts, would enable New Zealanders to be more welcoming and accommodating of refugees in all sectors of life such as employment, social and civic. Knowledge of the refugee situations by the host community would reduce hostility and racist comments that many participants mentioned they and their children had to bear with for a long time. Participants felt that the response they got from the host community was one of pity while associating refugees with that stigma of being a parasite more than a citizen who can contribute to their country of resettlement.

Economic Empowerment

When refugees move from their country of origin, they leave behind all their belongings and their source of livelihood. This puts all members of the household in a position of dependency, taking away the role of protector and provider from the parents. Refugees also come from non-English speaking backgrounds and they need to learn the language as soon as they come to New Zealand.

Grogan (2008) argues that English language and employment are the two most significant factors that influence economic success for refugees. Unfortunately, people from refugee backgrounds struggle to access the job market in New Zealand. The challenges of finding work have been compounded by the global recession, so even former refugees who gain language proficiency still face other challenges in finding jobs. In the current situation of a highly competitive

labour market, factors such as discrimination, lack of access to networks, lack of local professional experience, impact negatively on resettled refugees.

Cultural differences and employer attitudes all affect refugees' access to the job market. Lack of knowledge and understanding of the situation of refugees and their backgrounds by the New Zealand community and employers means that refugees may not be treated with empathy. Mestheneos and Ioannidi's (2002) study of refugees from 15 European Union member countries¹⁹ found that racism and marginalisation of refugees was based on host community perception that they depend on the welfare system, and community ignorance of the situation of refugees. Welfare dependence, unemployment and underemployment disempower both individual and refugee communities.

Research participants reported similar experience in their dealings with offices and officials who have little empathy about the refugee situation such as Work and Income and Housing New Zealand Corporation. Important matters like where one stays and the type of house one lives in are all determined by how much money one has at their disposal and the capacity to make decisions around those matters. Some refugees reported being told by officials from Housing New Zealand for example that there are other New Zealanders down the road who were waiting to get houses as well and so refugees should be grateful for what they were given. One participant said:

Then I applied to Housing New Zealand. Housing New Zealand; I have to cry...I've got my son.... he'd been beaten up every day, almost every day. And sometimes I don't allow him to go out...so many friends; they don't go out to play outside. They don't have any opportunity to go out. There is a small playground in the middle. When they go to that playground they get beaten up as well. And my daughter, when she heard this word, she starts crying. So I had a very bad experience there. When I go to Housing New Zealand and they say 'no, there is other people down the street who don't have their home' and they say if you want to go to private...but when I think about private, and I don't have a job, it's a hassle for me and then I say I better wait; wait, wait, wait until

¹⁹ EU member countries in 2002 were Belgium, France, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Spain, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Austria, Portugal, Finland, Sweden and United Kingdom.

four years ago, I come and get this house. After all these years; most of them, they don't have a chance to play outside (IP 10).

Rother (2008) advocates for a 'rights holder and duty bearer approach', where services are provided to refugees not because they are lucky, but because it is their entitlement.

When refugees get an opportunity for resettlement, other than being in a safe place, economic self-sustainability is one of their key aspirations. According to Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton and Bird (2009), economic empowerment does not only concern financial or monetary matters, but should accord refugees an opportunity to acquire appropriate skills, and to have access to resources and sustainable assets so that they are in a position to generate incomes for a better livelihood. In order to achieve economic empowerment, participants in the study appreciated the social support they got as they came into the country but called for further support with individual assessment of skills and capabilities so that individual plans can be developed and implemented to ensure that refugees become job ready and are able to compete for jobs within the New Zealand job market. Aiming for economic empowerment in this holistic way would see organisations treating English language proficiency, career guidance, skills training, up-skilling, mentoring programmes, writing resumes, interview skills and many other components of job readiness, being part of one holistic programme.

This study aimed to review the current refugee resettlement programme in New Zealand to find out to what extent it empowers quota refugees. The research question was "to what extent does the resettlement of quota refugees in New Zealand empower refugees"? The findings of this study suggest that the New Zealand refugee resettlement programme is mostly needs based. While it responds to basic physiological needs such as housing, food, clothing and safety, a lot still needs to be done to enable resettled refugees to attain higher levels of needs. The feeling of not belonging which most research participants highlighted as evidenced by their lack of English language proficiency, lack of participation, lack of appropriate jobs, being treated as

foreigners after many years of living in New Zealand, suggests that a lot could be done during the resettlement process to ensure these gaps are addressed. The chapter discussed some components of the programme that were empowering but discussed the scope that is there to further enhance the empowerment capability of the resettlement programme.

While some refugees are doing well in terms of their level of attainment of the four forms of empowerment, their hearts still go out to their struggling fellow refugees, which motivate them to form associations and organisations to support their own people.

The next chapter presents a conclusion to the thesis with some recommendations and suggestion of areas for further research.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter brings together the findings of this research study, highlighting the key elements that make programmes empowering. Recommendations on how resettlement programmes could be developed and implemented to make them more empowering are presented as well as areas for further research.

Key Elements that Make Programmes Empowering

Refugees face a number of challenges integrating into the host communities and participating as full citizens. This thesis has focused on the concept of empowerment and examined the extent to which programmes developed and implemented to resettle quota refugees in New Zealand empower refugees. Luttrell et al (2009) identified four main types of refugee empowerment, namely economic, human and social, political and cultural. The analysis of the research data identified a number of key elements that make programmes empowering.

Adam Awad, Chairperson of the Wellington Somali Association, Chairperson of the Change Makers Forum, and secretary of the New Zealand National Refugee Network, lamented the powerlessness and lack of empowerment of refugees by support agencies when he stated that:

We find our biggest problem is people who have helped us wanting to control us. As we get stronger we discover as have women, Maori, Pacific and others before us, that our 'helpers' don't want us to stand on our own feet. They want to keep helping us (The New Zealand Herald, 14th January 2010).

This view was echoed by participants in this study who said that this attitude causes frustration and confusion among the refugee community, and limits the quality of outcomes for refugees and their community.

I don't understand that empowerment is giving the service of supporting in terms of Social Welfare and be also dependent for the service provider or to always call the service provider or social worker or someone else to

talk on my behalf. Or giving me things, for example, like...support needs in terms of computers in homes, clothes and everything. Ok, that's a support but I don't understand that it's empowerment. Empowerment would be, for me, to have my own things to be independent and knowing the services available, do work, go to university and achieve my potential (IP 16).

And another participant from a focus group commented on continued refugee control in relation to organisations developing programmes to sustain themselves rather than for the benefit of the refugees:

Another aspect is that while we see a lot of things that groups, NGO's want to survive, you know. You're going to see every group...almost all the groups are doing almost the same thing. This NGO has got an English course; they are teaching. That one has got an English course and that one (FGD CL 1).

Luttrell et al (2009) argue that where empowerment programmes are designed to deal with 'power over', much emphasis is placed on participation in the existing social, economic and political structures with no strategy to change those structures which may be impinging on the empowerment of marginalized people. Luttrell et al suggest that to be empowering, programmes developed and implemented should yield power to clients through approaches such as quota systems to increase the representation of client groups in order to give them a strong voice in the decision making process. This calls for "changes in underlying resources and power to challenge the constraints" (p. 2) on effective participation. Research participants expressed frustration with the limitation of current and other resettlement programmes that were designed for, rather than with, the refugees. Such programmes disempower rather than empower refugees.

Rowlands (1995) argues for an alternative approach which is 'power to' or 'power with'. These approaches have the capacity to stimulate power within other people so they can attain their potential. These approaches are strength based. A strength based approach to resettlement programmes seeks to build on refugees' experiences, knowledge, skills and strength, including their resilience, courage and determination (Chile et al, 2007). An empowerment

approach to programme development and implementation is not only about increasing access to resources, or to decision making, and choices between programmes or services provided, but it is more about a processes whereby refugees are actively engaged in all the stages of decision-making or the resettlement programme. Empowerment approaches acknowledge refugees' abilities and potential rather than concentrating on their weaknesses. The focus is on "increasing individual and community capacity and opportunities to organize and change existing hierarchies, strengthen solidarity, challenge underlying assumptions, increase consciousness and the desire to initiate and effect change" (Luttrell et al, 2009, p. 2).

Speer and Hughey (1995) conceptualise empowerment as "the manifestation of social power at individual, organisational and community level" (p. 730). However organisational and community empowerment is not simply a collective of empowered people, but the establishment and maintenance of connections among community organisations to improve their quality of life Perkins and Zimmerman (1995).

Refugee resettlement programmes designed to empower individuals must also create systems and organisations that enable these empowered individuals to exercise their power.

Summary of Findings

Participants in the study showed great appreciation for the work that the government of New Zealand and the NGOs and volunteers that work with these organisations provide for the resettlement of quota refugees. Much work goes into the identification of refugees for settlement in New Zealand, planning and bringing refugees into the country, the orientation at Mangere Refugee Reception Centre (MRRC) to include English language assessment and tutoring, health checks and treatment as well as general orientation to life in New Zealand. Though some participants expressed a state of surprise when they got to MRRC and saw the accommodation compared to their expectations,

generally their stay at the centre was considered satisfactory. From an empowerment perspective, participants noted that the orientation programmes did not do much to equip refugees to deal with their own situations after leaving MRRC.

After leaving MRRC participants met with a lot of challenges which they felt they were not in a position to deal with. The programmes did not empower them enough to find work, to make decisions, to integrate and to contribute to issues that pertain to their lives. Many found themselves in a situation of hopelessness being dependent on the welfare benefit which they found to be demeaning (Higgins, 1999).

Participants felt that there was no adequate involvement of people from refugee background in the planning and development of programmes to support refugees. However organisations working with refugees did their best with few resources. Participants noted that organisations were generally fragmented in their approaches and offered piecemeal projects to refugees which did not help much.

Refugee resettlement programmes in New Zealand were therefore found to be needs based and focused on providing for the vulnerable refugees without much attention to what the refugees can do for themselves.

Recommendations

Empowerment Focus

- Refugee resettlement agencies and organisations need to develop a critical awareness of empowerment and how their programmes engage with refugee communities in ways that support the building of individuals and community assets, networks, culture and identity. Quinn and Spreitzer (2001) suggest that organisations' understanding of the processes of empowerment has significant impact on the organisations' empowerment strategies and outcomes.

- This means that programmes should develop explicit connections between policies, theory, research and practice from an empowerment perspective. “Policy makers, programme planners, and researchers should pay greater attention to what models of empowerment work with what populations and in what settings at what levels (individual, organisation, community) and why” (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995, p. 577).
- The large number of organisations working in refugee resettlement makes it particularly important to develop bench marks with the concept of empowerment between funders, service provider organisations and the refugee community.
- Refugee resettlement undertaken within a framework of empowerment supports people move gradually towards independence. While at the initial stages they require support to meet their basic needs, the longer term sustainable outcome is for refugees to build their own personal and community assets. One of the research participants illustrated this with the following analogy:

Refugees arrive in the country, like a child, crawling, start crawling and walking and later on running. It means we need to support them just to walk properly and later on running (IP 6).

Role of Family

- The approach to refugee resettlement in New Zealand focuses on the individual. While this approach works to empower the individual, the next levels of the family and community (Chile, Dunstan and Dibley, 2003) are still a big challenge. The role of the family is not given much significance and gaps occur between the older and younger refugees who adapt to the new environment much faster than their parents and other adults. Programmes that bring the family together and enable them to work together and support each other can help to reduce the tension and rifts that occur in families because of the different adaptive capacities during resettlement stage (COMET, 2007). Individual empowerment needs to be linked to family and community.

Chile et al (2007) suggest that refugee resettlement programmes should be:

underpinned by community development principles that provide for the development of refugee and refugee communities to move beyond crises relief onto rehabilitation and to transforming development. This requires a paradigm shift by governments, host communities and social service agencies working with refugees, so that their work is based on empowerment and longer-term development outcomes (p. 267).

Service Provider Collaboration

- Refugee service organisations could form a partnership whereby various organisations provide specialist support in their field with these services being coordinated depending on the need of the client. In this way the sole responsibility for refugee support would not lie with one organisation but they could act in a coordinating role to ensure that services are available to support refugees when they are needed. Participants called for organisations to work together and suggested a holistic approach to dealing with refugee resettlement.
- A proper handover of quota refugees when their term finishes with Refugee Services Aotearoa could also be very useful in ensuring that refugees do not fall through the gaps. There are many mainstream providers and NGOs in the community who can offer valuable support to refugees but the lack of connection between the refugees and the service organisations makes the process difficult.

Use of Role Models

- There is a need for role models or community champions who would stand for the cause of refugees and help to raise the awareness among the New Zealand community. This could be complemented by a nationwide campaign to inform the public and to get them involved in refugee resettlement.

Socialization and Culture

- One of the attributes of empowerment discussed by Luttrell et al (2009) is cultural empowerment. It is particularly important in orientation programmes to work out how redefining culture fits with the diverse group of quota refugees and how the implications of their own cultures will relate to the culture of parenting, employment and socialisation in New Zealand. Having this clearly laid out as part of the orientation programme will ensure that this is not overlooked, only to emerge as a gap later on in the resettlement process.

Suggestions for Further Research

Though the study was carried out in Auckland only because of limitations in time and scope, (being a Masters thesis) the findings may be applicable to the New Zealand refugee resettlement programme as the issues raised are not area specific.

Further research in collaboration with people from refugee backgrounds focusing on how empowerment based, rights based resettlement programmes can be developed and implemented in New Zealand. This could make a big contribution to the process of developing a National Refugee Resettlement Strategy which is underway.

This kind of research requires adequate funding to ensure that the right participants make a contribution to the process and consultations are made with refugees resettled in all regions of New Zealand. Organisations currently working on refugee resettlement and other mainstream organisations could also make contributions on what an empowerment based resettlement program could be like.

This study has established that power is dynamic and varies depending on one's situation. Further research could investigate who empowers whom or how empowerment can take place in the New Zealand refugee resettlement context, with considerations to gender, age and other diversity factors.

Conclusion

This thesis presented the situation of quota refugee resettlement in New Zealand and discussed to what extent it was empowering to refugees. An effort was made to present the forms of power and empowerment and how these are necessary to improve the situations of people in vulnerable positions. Discussions with people from refugee background and service providers clearly delineated the need for an empowerment focused resettlement programme that enables refugees to take charge of their lives and be active participants in New Zealand. The New Zealand refugee resettlement programme has a lot of potential to showcase empowerment based, rights based approaches to quota refugee resettlement which could be adapted to the situation of other streams of refugees coming into the country.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethics Approval Letter



MEMORANDUM

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

To: Love Chile
 From: **Madeline Banda** Executive Secretary, AUTEC
 Date: 16 December 2010
 Subject: Ethics Application Number 10/235 **Empowerment based approaches to quota refugee resettlement in New Zealand.**

Dear Love

Thank you for providing written evidence as requested. I am pleased to advise that it satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) at their meeting on 11 October 2010 and that I have approved your ethics application. This delegated approval is made in accordance with section 5.3.2.3 of AUTEC's *Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures* and is subject to endorsement at AUTEC's meeting on 24 January 2011.

Your ethics application is approved for a period of three years until 15 December 2013.

I advise that as part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics>. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 15 December 2013;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics>. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 15 December 2013 or on completion of the project, whichever comes sooner;

It is a condition of approval that AUTEC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTEC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are

provided to participants. You are reminded that, as applicant, you are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

Please note that AUTECH grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to make the arrangements necessary to obtain this.

When communicating with us about this application, we ask that you use the application number and study title to enable us to provide you with prompt service. Should you have any further enquiries regarding this matter, you are welcome to contact Charles Grinter, Ethics Coordinator, by email at ethics@aut.ac.nz or by telephone on 921 9999 at extension 8860.

On behalf of the AUTECH and myself, I wish you success with your research and look forward to reading about it in your reports.

Yours sincerely



Madeline Banda
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Vimbai Mugadza fnj8570@aut.ac.nz

From the desk of ...
 Madeline Banda
 Executive Secretary
 AUTECH

Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142
 New Zealand
 E-mail: ethics@aut.ac.nz
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Tel: 64 9 921 9999
 ext 8044
 Fax: 64 9 921 9925

Appendix B: Individual Participant Information Sheet

Individual Participant Information Sheet



Date: 30th August 2010

Project Title

“Empowerment Based Approaches to Quota Refugee Resettlement in New Zealand”

My name is Vimbai Mugadza. I am a student at Auckland University of Technology, Faculty of Applied Humanities and studying in the School of Social Sciences. I am doing my second year study for a Masters degree in Human Services and in this year I am doing a research project. I would like to invite you to participate in this research where together we will be exploring the current resettlement programmes for quota refugees and assessing the level of empowerment of the resettlement process. If you agree to be part of this research process, I would like to assure you that your participation is voluntary and that you may withdraw at any time prior to the completion of data collection without any adverse consequences. Any information that you would have contributed earlier can be destroyed at your request.

If you work in organisation where you feel your participation may jeopardise your employment conditions, I would like to assure you that all data collected will be maintained in a secure manner at the Institute of Public Policy at AUT and your name or any reference to the organisation you are associated with will not be made public.

Purpose of the research

The purpose of the research is to explore empowerment strategies in the current resettlement of quota refugees and make recommendations for future work with quota refugees in New Zealand. The research will contribute to the volumes of information that has been gathered so far relating to the resettlement needs of refugees. I will write up the findings of this research project into a report to be submitted to AUT in partial fulfilment of the requirement for a Masters Degree in Human Services. The outcome of the research may also be summarised and presented at forums for the benefit of quota refugees, organisations working with refugees as well as influencing refugee resettlement policies in New Zealand and other countries accepting refugees.

Research focus

This research is focusing on adult (20 years and above) people from refugee backgrounds who have been living in New Zealand for over 10 years and who can communicate in English without assistance from an interpreter. You have been selected using this criterion. Your details have been made available to me by your community leader who has identified you as one of the people who can make meaningful contribution to this research project. I have chosen you to be part of this research project since you meet the criteria for the study. The study excludes those people who have been living in New Zealand for less than 10 years and who are not familiar with the English language.

Data collection methods

The study will be in the form of individual interviews followed by focus group discussions to further develop information obtained from the individual interviews. Twenty people from refugee background as well as 6 people from organisations providing services to refugees will be part of the individual interviews. Two focus group discussions will be carried out with people from refugee backgrounds. These people will be willing participants, randomly selected from a sample of participants to the individual interviews. As a participant in individual interviews you will have to talk about your resettlement experience, identify areas of empowerment and make suggestions for future resettlement strategies. Interviews will take place in places and at times convenient to you. Interviews will be recorded using voice recorders and where appropriate notes will be taken.

Managing risks

The research study may bring back memories of the hardships you faced during the resettlement process and this may be hard for you to deal with but the study may also highlight the good moments and the benefits of the current resettlement programme for positive reflection. There may be a chance that someone who knows you may be able to identify you from the information that you give during the interviews. If any of these situations arise, please inform me and I will organise through AUT to have any support that you may require.

I also work for Auckland Regional Migrant Services as Settlement Support Coordinator and I am in touch with organisations that provide counselling and support. If any case of discomfort occurs and you are happy to be referred on to an organisation that can be of assistance to you, then this will be done. For information that may lead to your identity, all care will be taken to use pseudo names for yourself and for any places you might mention and the script of the interview will be made available for you to go through before the data can be used. Only after you are happy with the

transcripts can the data be analysed. Diligent care will be practised to ensure that as little discomfort as possible is experienced.

If you have to travel to an interview venue and you require assistance with travel costs this can be organised in the form of fuel voucher.

Benefits of the research

The study will benefit you in that you will make a significant contribution to this kind of study which is the first of its kind in New Zealand. Your contribution to these discussions will also open up other avenues for networking with other members of the community. The process of reflection on the resettlement process from an empowerment perspective will enable you to be part of future discussions dealing with refugee resettlement. The study will benefit organisations working with refugee resettlement to contribute to the current strategies they are implementing. The study could also have an input in future refugee resettlement policies of central government. In addition to all the above, the study report will be submitted to AUT as a requirement for my fulfilment for a Master of Arts Degree in Human Services.

Management of collected data

All tapes or CDs containing recorded interviews will be kept by the Auckland University of Technology under lock and key for up to 6 years for reference if there is need. Actual names will not be used during the interview and during transcribing but pseudo names and no one will know whether you have been part of this research or not.

Time allocation

Individual interviews will take about 60 minutes. You will incur the cost of time to attend the interview and or the focus group discussion. All travel costs will be reimbursed by me.

- You have two weeks to consider this invitation and your ability to participate in this study.
- I would like to assure you once again that your participation is voluntary, on a willing basis.
- If you require an opportunity to seek further information from me or from other support organisations, please feel free to do so.
- You are free to withdraw during the study (up to the completion of data collection) without any adverse consequences of any kind
- Once the information collected through voice recorders during the interviews and focus group discussion is transcribed, you will be given the opportunity to go through the information and sign-off that it is

correct before data analysis. You are also free to change or remove any information in the transcript.

- An electronic copy of the report can be provided if you wish to receive one.

I have included with this information sheet a consent form. If you agree to be part of this research, please sign the form and return it to me by post using the enclosed addressed and stamped envelope, or you can fax it to me on 09 2698471 or 09 2635491.

If you wish to receive a copy of the results of this study please let me know and this will be made available to you electronically. Only in special cases will hard copies be provided depending on resource availability.

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Love Chile, at email love.chile@aut.ac.nz or Tel: 09- 9219999 Ext: 8312

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, ATEC,

Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 8044.

You may contact the following for further information about this research:

My contact details are as follows:

Vimbai Mugadza;

Email – fnj8570@aut.ac.nz or Tel: 09- 2635490

Project Supervisor Contact Details

Primary Project Supervisor:

Dr. Love Chile

Email: love.chile@aut.ac.nz

Telephone: 09 9219999, Ext: 8312

Secondary Project Supervisor:

Keryn McDermott

Email: keryn.mcdermott@aut.ac.nz

Telephone: 09 9219999, Ext: 8403

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on – 16/12/2010.

AUTEC Reference number- 10/235

Appendix C: Service Organisation Participant Information Sheet

Service Organisation Information Sheet



Date: 30th August 2010

Project Title:

“Empowerment Based Approaches to Quota Refugee Resettlement in New Zealand”

My name is Vimbai Mugadza. I am a student at Auckland University of Technology, Faculty of Applied Humanities and studying in the School of Social Sciences. I am doing my second year study for a Masters degree in Human Services and in this year I am doing a research project. I would like to invite you to participate in this research where together we will be exploring the current resettlement programmes for quota refugees and assessing the level of empowerment of the resettlement process. If you agree to be part of this research process, I would like to assure you that your participation is voluntary and that you may withdraw at any time prior to the completion of data collection without any adverse consequences. Any information that you would have contributed earlier can be destroyed at your request.

If you feel that your participation may jeopardise your employment conditions, I would like to assure you that all data collected will be maintained in a secure manner at the Institute of Public Policy at AUT and your name or any reference to the organisation you are associated with will not be made public.

Purpose of this research

The purpose of the research is to explore empowerment strategies in the current resettlement of quota refugees and make recommendations for future work with quota refugees in New Zealand. The research will contribute to the volumes of information that has been gathered so far relating to the resettlement needs of refugees. Findings of this research project will be written up by me into a report to be submitted to AUT in partial fulfilment of the requirement for a Masters Degree in Human Services. The outcome of the research may also be summarised and presented at forums for the benefit of

quota refugees, organisations working with refugees as well as influencing refugee resettlement policies in New Zealand and other countries accepting refugees.

Research focus

This research is focusing on adult (20 years and above) people from refugee backgrounds who have been living in New Zealand for over 10 years and who can communicate in English without assistance from an interpreter. In order to obtain a perception from service providers to the quota refugee resettlement processes, organisations working with refugees are also part of the research. You have been identified as a key service provider in the resettlement of refugees and your contributions will make a meaningful contribution to the literature gathered.

Data collection methods

The study will be in the form of individual interviews followed by focus group discussions to further develop information obtained from the individual interviews. Twenty people from refugee background as well as 6 people from organisations providing services to refugees will be part of the individual interviews. Two focus group discussions will be carried out with people from refugee backgrounds. As a service provider you will talk about the services that your organisation provides and how in your opinion the process is empowering or disempowering, and you will be free to make suggestions for future resettlement strategies. Interviews will take place in places and at times convenient to you. Interviews will be recorded using voice recorders and where appropriate notes will be taken.

Managing risks

You may feel uncomfortable to talk about some confidential information pertaining to your organisation. Please be assured that you can only disclose information that you are comfortable with or if there is any need to seek clarification from your colleagues or superiors, I will make an effort to do that.

If it so happens that the situation of research causes discomfort, I have organised for free counselling with AUT Counselling department. All you need to do is to call them on 921 9992 and make an appointment. The counsellors can also be reached on line at: http://www.aut.ac.nz/students/student_services/health_counselling_and_wellbeing. Transcribed data will be made available to you to cross check to add or take out information and only after you are happy with the transcripts can the data be analysed. Diligent care will be practised to ensure that as little

discomfort as possible is experienced. I can meet with you at any place convenient to you.

Benefits of the research

The study will benefit you in that you will make a significant contribution to this kind of study which is the first of its kind in New Zealand. The process of reflection on the resettlement process from an empowerment perspective will enable you to be part of future discussions dealing with refugee resettlement. The study will also benefit organisations working with refugee resettlement to contribute to the current strategies they are implementing. The study could also have an input in future refugee resettlement policies of central government. In addition to all the above, the study report will be submitted to AUT as a requirement for my fulfilment for a Master of Arts Degree in Human Services.

Management of data collected

All tapes or CDs containing recorded interviews will be kept by the Auckland University of Technology under lock and key for up to 6 years for reference if there is need. Actual names will not be used during the interview and when transcribing data but pseudo names and no one will know whether you were part of this research or not.

What I am requesting is up to 60 minutes of your time to attend the interview.

- You have two weeks to consider this invitation and your ability to participate in this study.
- I would like to assure you once again that your participation is voluntary, on a willing basis.
- If you require an opportunity to seek further information from me or from other support organisations, please feel free to do so.
- You are free to withdraw during the study (up to the completion of data collection) without any adverse consequences of any kind
- Once the information collected through voice recorders during the interviews and focus group discussion is transcribed, you will be given the opportunity to go through the information and sign-off that it is correct before data analysis. You are also free to change or remove any information in the transcript.
- An electronic copy of the report can be provided if you wish to receive one.

I have included with this information sheet a consent form. If you agree to be part of this research, please sign the form and return it to me by post using the enclosed addressed and stamped envelope, or you can fax it to me on 09 2698471 or 09 2635491.

If you wish to receive a copy of the results of this study please let me know and this will be made available to you electronically. Only in special cases will hard copies be provided depending on resource availability.

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Love Chile, at email love.chile@aut.ac.nz or Tel: 09- 9219999 Ext: 8312

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEK, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 8044.

You can contact the following for further information about this research?

My contact Details:

My contact details are as follows:

Vimbai Mugadza;

Email – fnj8570@aut.ac.nz or Tel: 09- 2635490

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Primary Project Supervisor:

Dr. Love Chile

Email: love.chile@aut.ac.nz

Telephone: 09 9219999, Ext: 8312

Secondary Project Supervisor:

Keryn McDermott

Email: keryn.mcdermott@aut.ac.nz

Telephone: 09 9219999, Ext: 8403

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on –
16/12/2010**

AUTEK Reference number – 10/235

Appendix D: Focus Group Information Sheet

Focus Group Participant Information Sheet



Date: 30th August 2010

Project Title:

“Empowerment Based Approaches to Quota Refugee Resettlement in New Zealand”

My name is Vimbai Mugadza. I am a student at Auckland University of Technology, Faculty of Applied Humanities and studying in the School of Social Sciences. I am doing my second year study for a Masters degree in Human Services and in this year I am doing a research project. I would like to invite you to participate in this research, where together we will be exploring the current resettlement programmes for quota refugees and assessing the level of empowerment of the resettlement process. You will be part of a group of about 6 to 10 people who will meet at a location and time that is appropriate and convenient to all members of the group. If you agree to be part of this research process, I would like to assure you that your participation is voluntary and that you may withdraw at any time prior to the completion of data collection without any adverse consequences. Any information that you would have contributed earlier can be destroyed in a secure manner at your request.

If you work in organisation where you feel your participation may jeopardise your employment conditions, I would like to assure you that all data collected will be maintained in a secure manner at AUT Institute of Public Policy and your name or any reference to the organisation you are associated with will not be made public.

Purpose of this research

The purpose of the research is to explore empowerment strategies in the current resettlement of quota refugees and make recommendations for future work with quota refugees in New Zealand. The research will contribute to the volumes of information that has been gathered so far relating to the resettlement needs of refugees. Findings of this research project will be written up by me into a report to be submitted to AUT in partial fulfilment of the requirement for a Masters Degree in Human Services. The outcome of the research may also be summarised and presented at forums for the benefit of quota refugees, organisations working

with refugees as well as influencing refugee resettlement policies in New Zealand and other countries accepting refugees.

Research focus and data collection

This research is focusing on adult (20 years and above) people from refugee backgrounds who have been living in New Zealand for over 10 years and who can communicate in English without assistance from an interpreter. Your details have been obtained from the details you provided when you participated in the individual interview and you have been selected from the people who participated in the individual interviews. The opportunity to participate in a group discussion is so that you may all put your heads together to discuss the same topic. The advantage of group discussion being that you will be able to think through the resettlement process together and come up with a group resolution compared to individual thoughts. I have chosen you to be part of this research project since you meet the criteria for the study. The study excludes those people who have been living in New Zealand for less than 10 years and who are not familiar with the English language.

Focus group discussions will help to further develop information obtained from the individual interviews. You will participate willingly, as participants to the focus group discussions you will talk about your resettlement experience, identify areas of empowerment and make suggestions for future resettlement strategies. Discussions will take place in places and at times convenient to an individual group. Proceedings will be recorded using voice recorders and where appropriate notes will be taken. Flip charts may be used during focus group discussions.

Potential risks of the research process

The research study may bring back memories of the hardships you faced during the resettlement process and this may be hard for you to deal with but the study may also highlight the good moments and the benefits of the current resettlement programme for positive reflection. There may be a chance that someone who knows you may be able to identify you from the information that you give during the interviews. You may also find it uncomfortable to be part of a group discussion and to express your views. If any of these situations arise, please inform me and I will organise through AUT to have any support that you may require.

I also work for Auckland Regional Migrant Services as Settlement Support Coordinator and I am in touch with organisations that provide counselling and support. If any case of discomfort occurs and you are happy to be referred on to an organisation that can be of assistance to you, then this will be done. For information that may lead to your identity, all care will be taken to use pseudo names for yourself and for any places you might mention and the script of the interview will be made available for you to go through before the data can be used. Only after you are happy with the

transcripts can the data be analysed. Diligent care will be practised to ensure that as little discomfort as possible is experienced.

Benefits of the research

The study will benefit you in that you will make a significant contribution to this kind of study which is the first of its kind in New Zealand. Your contribution to these discussions will also open up other avenues for networking with other members of the community. The process of reflection on the resettlement process from an empowerment perspective will enable you to be part of future discussions dealing with refugee resettlement. The study will benefit organisations working with refugee resettlement to contribute to the current strategies they are implementing. The study could also have an input in future refugee resettlement policies of central government. In addition to all the above, the study report will be submitted to AUT as a requirement for my fulfilment for a Master of Arts Degree in Human Services.

Management of data collected

All tapes or CDs containing recorded interviews will be kept by the Auckland University of Technology under lock and key for up to 6 years for reference if there is need. Actual names will not be used during the interview and when transcribing data but pseudo names, therefore no one will be able to know whether you have been part of this research or not.

Time allocation

Focus group discussions will take no more than 90 minutes. You will incur the cost of time to attend the focus group discussion. If you have to travel to the meeting venue, a Koha to cover the cost of travel will be met in the form of a fuel voucher.

- You have two weeks to consider this invitation and your ability to participate in this study.
- I would like to assure you once again that your participation is voluntary, on a willing basis.
- If you require an opportunity to seek further information from me or from other support organisations, please feel free to do so.
- You are free to withdraw during the study (up to the completion of data collection) without any adverse consequences of any kind
- Once the information collected through voice recorders during the interviews and focus group discussion is transcribed, you will be given the opportunity to go through the information and sign-off that it is correct before data analysis. You are also free to change or remove any information in the transcript.

- An electronic copy of the report can be provided if you wish to receive one.

I have included with this information sheet a consent form. If you agree to be part of this research, please sign the form and return it to me by post using the enclosed addressed and stamped envelope, or you can fax it to me on 09 2698471 or 09 2635491.

If you wish to receive a copy of the results of this study please let me know and this will be made available to you electronically. Only in special cases will hard copies be provided depending on resource availability.

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Love Chile, at email love.chile@aut.ac.nz or Tel: 09- 9219999 Ext: 8312

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTECH, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 8044.

You may contact the following people for further information about this research:

My contact details are as follows:

Vimbai Mugadza;

Email – fnj8570@aut.ac.nz or Tel: 09- 2635490

Project Supervisor Contact Details

Primary Project Supervisor:

Dr. Love Chile

Email: love.chile@aut.ac.nz

Telephone: 09 9219999, Ext: 8312

Secondary Project Supervisor:

Keryn McDermott

Email: keryn.mcdermott@aut.ac.nz

Telephone: 09 9219999, Ext: 8403

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on – 16/12/2010.

AUTECH Reference number- 10/235

Appendix E: Semi Structured Interview Guide

Semi Structured interview guide – individual refugees

Research topic: “Empowerment based approaches to quota refugee resettlement in New Zealand”

Welcome and introductions

Research project – title and purpose and benefits of research project

1. Reiterate issues of freedom to participate, to withdraw and anonymity. Talk of method of capturing the data during the discussions, transcribing and analysis for production of report.
2. How many years have you been living in New Zealand?
3. What sort of skills did you bring at entry to NZ?
4. What is your present state of affairs in terms of settlement?
5. Could you please describe accessibility to resources-e.g. housing, community support, child care, living costs, English language, health care, education and cultural harmony? We can talk about them one at a time. Are there any other resources you would like to talk about?
6. What could have been done better to improve your situation now – by service providers, host community, self?
7. What is your understanding of empowerment?
8. How would you describe the resettlement process in terms of empowerment?
9. Are there any other issues you would like to talk about regarding the resettlement process in New Zealand?
10. Thank participant for taking time to take part in the discussion – talk about the process of data transcribing, editing and analysis. What will be done with the report? Ask whether they would like to receive a copy of the research project report.

Appendix F: Semi Structured Interview Guide – Organisations

Semi Structured interview guide – Service organisation

Research topic: “Empowerment based approaches to quota refugee resettlement in New Zealand”

1. Welcome and introductions
2. Research project – title and purpose and benefits of research project
3. Reiterate issues of freedom to participate, to withdraw and anonymity. Talk of method of capturing the data during the discussions, transcribing and analysis for production of report.
4. What is the history of the organisation and how does it function?
5. What is the role of organisation in terms of quota refugee resettlement?
6. What is your role within the organisation?
7. What has been some of the best successes and challenges when resettling quota refugees?
8. What is your understanding of empowerment?
9. How would you describe the current resettlement process in terms of empowerment?
10. To what extent is it empowering or disempowering?
11. What could be done better to improve the situation now – by your organisation, host community, self?
12. In your own opinion – what can you consider as the best model for resettlement of quota refugees?
13. Are there any other issues you would like to talk about regarding the resettlement process in New Zealand?

Thank participant for taking time to take part in the discussion – talk about the process of data transcribing, editing and analysis. What will be done with the report? Ask whether they would like to receive a copy of the research project report.

Appendix G: Focus Group Discussion Guide

Focus Group Discussion guide- Refugee group

Research topic: “Empowerment based approaches to quota refugee resettlement in New Zealand”

1. Welcome and introductions
2. Research project – title, purpose and benefits of research project.
3. Ground rules.
4. Reiterate issues of freedom to participate, to withdraw and anonymity. Talk of method of capturing the data during the discussions, transcribing and analysis for production of report.
5. Purpose for the day – to talk about the resettlement process and how it has impacted on empowerment for the refugee community.
6. What is your present state of affairs in terms of settlement?
7. Discuss accessibility of resources-eg housing, community support, child care, living costs, English language, health care, education and cultural harmony. Are there any other resources you would like to talk about?
8. What could have been done better to improve your situation now – by service providers, host community, self?
9. What is your understanding of empowerment?
10. How would you describe the resettlement process in terms of empowerment?
11. Are there any other issues you would like to talk about regarding the resettlement process in New Zealand?

Thank participants for taking time to take part in the discussion – talk about the process of data transcribing, editing and analysis. What will be done with the report? Ask whether they would like to receive a copy.

Appendix H: AUT Counselling Support Letter



MEMORANDUM

TO Vimbai Mugadza
FROM Kevin Baker
SUBJECT Psychological support for research participants
DATE 6 November 2010

I would like to confirm that Health, Counselling and Wellbeing are able to offer confidential counselling support for the participants in your AUT research project entitled:

"Empowerment based approaches to quota refugee resettlement in NZ".

The free counselling will be provided by our professional counsellors for a maximum of **three** sessions and must be in relation to issues arising from their participation in your research project.

Please inform your participants:

- They will need to contact our centres at WB219 or AS104 or phone **09 921 9992 City Campus** or **09 921 9998 North Shore campus** to make an appointment
- They will need to let the receptionist know that they are a research participant
- They will need to provide your contact details to confirm this
- They can find out more information about our counsellors and the option of online counselling on our website: **http://www.aut.ac.nz/students/student_services/health_counselling_and_wellbeing**

Yours sincerely

Kevin Baker
 Head of Counselling
 Health, Counselling and Wellbeing

Appendix I: Consent Form

Consent Form

Interview



Project title: “Empowerment Based Approaches to Quota Refugee Resettlement in New Zealand”.

Project Supervisors: Dr. Love Chile and Keryn McDermott

Researcher: Vimbai Mugadza

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 30th April 2010.
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one):
Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant’s signature:

Participant’s name:

Participant’s Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on - 16/12/2010.

AUTEC Reference number - 10/235.

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix J: Confidentiality Agreement

Confidentiality Agreement



Project title: Empowerment Based Approaches to Quota Refugee Resettlement in New Zealand.

Project Supervisor: Dr Love Chile and Keryn McDermott

Researcher: Vimbai Mugadza

- ☐ I understand that all the material I will be asked to transcribe is confidential.
- ☐ I understand that the contents of the tapes or recordings can only be discussed with the researchers.
- ☐ I will not keep any copies of the transcripts nor allow third parties access to them.

Transcriber's signature:

Transcriber's name:

Transcriber's Contact Details (if appropriate):

..... Date:.....

Project Supervisor's Contact Details (if appropriate):

Dr. Love Chile;

Email: love.chile@aut.ac.nz

Telephone: 09 9219999, Ext: 8312

Keryn McDermott;

Email: keryn.mcdermott@aut.ac.nz

Telephone: 09 9219999, Ext: 8403

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 16/12/2010. AUTEK Reference number ...10/235.

Appendix K: Researcher Safety Protocol

Topic: “Empowerment Based Approaches to Quota Refugee Resettlement in New Zealand”

Interview and focus groups will be conducted in neutral places such as offices or meeting rooms at service organisations.

However in the case where interviews have to be done at the participants’ houses; the following measures will be put in place to safeguard my security:

1. In order to safeguard myself I will develop a schedule of travel times, interview times, locations and dates and these will be shared with Sharon, my colleague.
2. At the start and end of every interview I will call her and also at the end of every interview. If I do not call her and 10 minutes lapses after the scheduled end of the interview time she is supposed to call me and if I do not answer she will have to come to the interview venue to check on me.
3. Panic codes will be set on the mobile phone, so that even during the course of the interview, if there are any threats to security, a one touch dial would ensure that she gets the message and inform the relevant authorities.
4. Whenever possible I will go for the interviews with my husband or my son who will maintain their distance during the interview but be close enough to detect any signs of distress.
5. The participants themselves will be free to bring any support person to the interview room as long as they do not respond on behalf of the participant.
6. As a safety precaution, interviews will only be conducted during the day and not at night if they are to be conducted at people’s houses.

I will endeavour at all times to investigate the particular cultural attributes of the identified participants and to respect these during and after the interview process. No interviews will be held at my house.

Appendix L: Interview Participants

Individual Participants - Total 16			
Community leaders	Non portfolio holders	Men	Women
12	6	11	6
Service Provider Organisations - Total 9			
	Chief Executive	Programme Manager	Staff member
Non Government Organisations		3	
Community Organisations (refugee led)	1	1	
Education Institution		1	
Government Departments		3	
Focus Group Discussions - 2			
Men	Women		
10	8		

Appendix M: Acronyms

ARCC – Auckland Refugee Community Coalition
 ARMS – Auckland Regional Migrant Service
 ARPHS – Auckland Regional Public Health Service
 AUT – Auckland University of Technology
 CAB – Citizens Advice Bureau
 CALD – Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
 CMDHB – Counties Manukau District Health Board
 CV – Curriculum Vitae
 DHB – District Health Board
 DOL – Department of Labour
 DRC – Democratic Republic of Congo
 ELP – English Language Partners
 ESOL – English for Speakers of Other Languages
 FACS – Family and Community Services
 FGD – Focus Group Discussion
 GDP – Gross Domestic Product
 GP – General Practitioner
 HZNC – Housing New Zealand Corporation
 IDP – Internally Displaced Person
 INZ – Immigration New Zealand
 IP – Individual Participant
 IRO – International Refugee Organisation
 MINEDU – Ministry of Education
 MOU – Memorandum of Understanding
 MRRC – Mangere Refugee Reception Centre
 MSD – Ministry of Social Development
 NESB – Non English Speaking Background
 NGO – Non Government Organisation
 NRRF – National Refugee Resettlement Forum
 NZNRN – New Zealand National Refugee Network

OAU – Organisation of African Unity

PPP – Purchasing Power Parity

PTE – Private Tertiary Establishment

RAS – Refugees As Survivors

REACTNOW – Refugee Employment Action Now

RQB – Refugee Quota Branch

SPP – Service Provider

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNRWA – United Nations Relief and Works Agency

USA – United States of America

USCR – United States Committee for Refugees

Appendix N: Glossary

SPP: During the research participants from service provider organisations were listed one to nine and are identified in this report as SPP1 up to SPP 9.

SPP 2-1: This identifies the first interviewee where there were two people from the same organisation during the interview.

SPP 2-2: This identifies the second interviewee where there were two people from the same organisation during the interview.

IPP: During the research individual research participants were listed from one to 16 and are identified in this report as IPP 1 up to IPP 16.

IPP CL: This identifies an individual participant who is also a community leader.

FGD: Two focus group discussions were carried out and these are reported as FGD 1 and FGD 2.

FGD CL: This identifies a community leader in a focus group discussion.